IRISH 1798 COLLECTION

A

NARRATIVE

OF

THE SUFFERINGS AND ESCAPE

OF

CHARLES JACKSON,

LATE RESIDENT

At WEXFORD, in IRELAND.

INCLUDING

AN ACCOUNT

OF

SEVERAL BARBAROUS ATROCITIES

COMMITTED IN JUNE, 1798,

BY THE IRISH REBELS IN THAT TOWN

WHILE IT WAS IN THEIR POSSESSION:

TO THE GREATER PART OF WHICH HE WAS

AN EYE-WITNESS.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

CAMBRIDGE,

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PREFACE.

TO induce me to publiſh the following narrative of what I ſuffered, and of the ſcenes I witneſſed, I have two motives. The firſt is, that I conſider it my duty to my countrymen to exhibit to them the dreadful conſequences which have reſulted from the propagation of deteſtable principles among our fellow-ſubjects in Ireland. The political doctrines, recommending ſchemes of reform in the ſtate, which, for a conſiderable time paſt, have been induſtriouſly circulated, had unſettled the minds of the people, as was evident to a common obſerver, and prepared them eagerly to embrace the wild, irrational French notions of liberty and equality, which ſoon exterminated every juſt principle. May my happy countrymen reflect upon what has taken place there, and cheriſh, with never-ceaſing attachment and reſpect, the true liberty and ſecurity which they ſo fully enjoy!

I will candidly own, that my other motive is, an expectation that I ſhall derive ſome advantage

from the ſale of this little book, ſo as to enable me again to eſtabliſh myſelf in my buſineſs. In common with numbers, I loſt at Wexford all the property I poſſeſſed; and landed in England without farther means of ſupport than what had been charitably given to defray the expences of bringing my family to London; ſo that I have, according to the common ſaying, "the world to "begin over again."

That no doubt may be entertained of the authenticity of this account, I have done all in my power to ſatisfy the minds of the moſt ſcrupulous, that I am worthy of being credited for what I have related. The letters which are added will be vouchers for me; and, ſhould any perſon require other proofs, I ſhall always be ready to give ſuch anſwers as, I truſt, will remove all doubt.

Copy of a Letter from NATHANIEL WHITWORTH, *Esq. Deputy Commissary-General, to Lieutenant-Colonel* BRINLEY, *Adjutant-General's Office, Horse-Guards, London.*

Haverford-west, July 3, 1798.

DEAR BRINLEY,

I WILL offer no sort of apology for the favour I am about to ask, knowing you to possess a sufficiency of the milk of human kindness to relieve objects of real distress. The bearer has a tale to unfold, relative to his sufferings by the rebellion at present raging in the county of Wexford, that I am sure will excite

excite your commisseration. You may rest assured of the truth of what he may advance, which has been corroborated by the testimony of many respectable clergymen from Wexford. You will perceive by a certificate in his possession, that he has been relieved by our committee with money sufficient to carry him to London. What I have to request of you is, that you will have the goodness to point out the proper office for him to present the certificate he possesses, as I am morally certain it will be productive of a small pecuniary relief to enable him to follow his business.

Your's, most truly,

N. WHITWORTH.

Lieutenant-Colonel Brinley.

Head-Quarters, Wexford, June 26, 1798.

PERMIT CHARLES JACKSON, his wife, and child, to pass from hence to England, free and unmolested.

(Signed) F. G. LAKE,

Aid-de-Camp to Lt. Gen. Lake.

To all Officers, Civil and Military.

Port of Milford.

THE above is a true copy of the pass lodged in the Custom-House, Milford.—Given under my hand and seal of office, this 29th June, 1798.

GEORGE HOUGH, Collector.

I KNOW CHARLES JACKSON, being his parish-minister, and certify that he conducted himself with true loyalty.

WILLIAM EASTWOOD.

WE certify, that we know CHARLES JACKSON to be a very proper man, and a truly loyal subject.

JOHN JACOB, [a clergyman of the Church of England, near Wexford; son of Dr. Jacob, a physician, who is the mayor of Wexford, and captain of the Wexford infantry.]

N. C. H. HATCHELL, [first lieutenant, Wexford infantry.]

RALPH BOYD, [Protestant minister of a church near Wexford.]

JOSHUA NUNN, [of St. Margaret's, co. Wexford, a man of great property.]

J. JOHNSON, [a physician of Wexford.]

ROBERT SPARROW, [a quaker, and a merchant.]

Haverford-west, July 2, 1798.

WE do hereby certify, that the within-named CHARLES JACKSON has received, from the Fund for the Relief of Irish Fugitives, ten guineas, for the purpose of carrying himself and family to London.

FRANCIS FORTUNE.
JOHN HIGGON.
H. PHILLIPS.
NATHANIEL WHITWORTH,
Dep. Commis. Gen.

A NAR-

A

NARRATIVE

OF

THE SUFFERINGS AND ESCAPE

OF

CHARLES JACKSON.

I WAS born at Sudbury in Suffolk, and at an early period of life went to Ireland. At Cork I married, and received £200. with my wife. In the beginning of the year 1797, I ſettled in the town of Wexford as a carver and gilder, where, being the only perſon in that line of buſineſs in that county, I was much employed, and enabled to ſupport my family in a creditable manner, till the breaking out of the late horrid rebellion.

It may here be neceſſary to inſert a ſhort deſcription of the town of Wexford, which I ſhall give in the words of the very intelligent Sir Richard Muſgrave, as given by him in his valuable work, *Memoirs of the Rebellions in Ireland*, publiſhed in March, 1801; where he has been kind enough to confirm, beyond contradiction, every thing contained in the following pages, though wrote three years after my firſt publication.

" Wexford is a ſea-port, borough, market, and " corporate town, and rather populous for its

" ſize. It is the chief in the county of the ſame " name, and the third largeſt in the province of " Leinſter. It is governed by a Mayor, Recorder, " and Bailiffs. It is the ſhire and aſſize town, and " gives the title of earl, as does Waterford alſo, " to the noble family of Talbot, who are earls " of Shrewſbury in England. It returned two " members to Parliament. It is ſeated on a bay " in the Iriſh channel, at the mouth of the river " Slaney. It is formed by two necks of land, " with an entrance half a mile broad, and was " formerly defended by two forts, one at the ex- " tremity of each iſthmus, called Fort Marget, " and Fort Roſslare; but as its entrance is ob- " ſtructed by ſand-banks, ſhips drawing more " than ten feet water ſeldom enter it; ſhips of " greater magnitude load and unload three miles " from the town, near the ſouth-ſide of the haven, " where there is ſufficient depth of water, but " no ſhelter from the ſouth winds. Wexford " was originally fortified by the Danes, and " improved and enlarged by the firſt Engliſh " ſettlers in the twelfth century, who took it " from the Eaſterlings, after a ſiege of four days, " on the fourth of May, 1170. It was beſieged " by Cromwell the firſt of October, 1649, and " having been betrayed by Captain James Sufford, " commandant of the caſtle, it was taken by " ſtorm, and Sir Edward Butler, the governor, " and two thouſand ſoldiers, were put to the " ſword. The town is irregularly built, and the " ſtreets are narrow. There is a large and elegant " new church in it.

" The trade of Wexford is not very extenſive; " it conſiſts chiefly in barley and malt, of which " it exports great quantities, and in beer, beef, " hides, tallow, and butter. In 1763 it contained

" one

" one thouſand three hundred houſes, of which " ſix hundred and fifty were ſlated. In 1788 it " had one thouſand four hundred and twelve. " But its chief boaſt and ornament is a mag- " nificent wooden bridge, over the river Slaney, " which was built by Mr. Samuel Cox, an " American: it is one thouſand five hundred " and fifty-four feet long, and thirty-four broad, " ſtanding on ſeventy-five piers of piles, of ſix " uprights each, with a portcullis, or draw-bridge, " for veſſels to paſs through. It was begun " June 12, 1794, and was finiſhed in February, " 1795, and ſtands in twenty feet water. This " magnificent bridge was built by a ſubſcription " of £14,000.*"

On Friday evening, May 25, 1798, information was firſt received of the rebels being in force, about twelve miles from Wexford. The troops at that time in the town, conſiſting of a party of the North-Cork militia, between three and four hundred men, and the cavalry and infantry corps of yeomen, were under arms the whole of the night; and on Sunday morning the alarm increaſed, on hearing that the rebels were burning the houſes of all the Proteſtant farmers in the neighbourhood. A party of the North-Cork militia, conſiſting of 106 men, were ordered out, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Foote and Major Lombard, and marched to a place called Oulard, where they were met by the rebels. The ſituation of the ground was ſo unfavourable, that the party, after firing three rounds, (by which a conſiderable number of the rebels were killed) was ſurrounded and cut to

* For a more particular account of Wexford, see Sir R. Musgrave's work, p. 381.

pieces, Colonel Foote, a ſerjeant, and three privates only eſcaping.

Lieutenant-Colonel Foote has given the following relation of it in a letter to a friend: " I " marched to a hill called Oulard, where between " four and five thouſand rebels were poſted. " From their great ſuperiority of numbers, it " was not my intention to have attacked them, " unleſs ſome unforeſeen favourable circum- " ſtances would warrant that meaſure: however, " my officers were of a contrary opinion. I met " here part of a yeomanry cavalry corps, about " ſixteen; the remainder, with their ſerjeant, " having that morning joined the rebels. I halted " with this corps while I ſent a note by their " trumpeter to Wexford, with orders for two " officers and forty men to march thence to us to " ſupport our detachment, apprehending that " the rebels, from their numbers, might intercept " our retreat. Afterwards, when I joined the " party, I found that they were moved forward " by the officer next in command; and the " ſoldiers cried out, that they would beat the " rebels out of the field. By this movement we " were immediately engaged with the rebels, who " fired from behind the hedges, without ſhewing " any regular front. We beat their advanced " party from one hedge to another, (which they " had ſucceſſively occupied, and fired from on " us) killing great numbers of them, till they " retreated in much confuſion to the main body, " which conſiſted moſtly of pikemen. I con- " ſidered this a favourable opportuuity of forming " the detachment for the purpoſe of retreating, " or of receiving the enemy in a good poſition; " and I uſed every exertion to effect it: but, un- " fortunately, the too great ardour of the men

" and

" and officers could not be reſtrained. They " ruſhed forward, were ſurrounded, and over- " powered by numbers. They diſplayed great " valour and intrepidity, and killed great num- " bers of the rebels. Of this detachment none " have as yet returned to Wexford but myſelf, a " ſerjeant, and three privates. I received a " wound from a pike in my breaſt, a ſlight one " in my arm, and ſeveral bruiſes and contu- " ſions."—The moment an account of this diſ- aſter arrived, the Wexford infantry, which were aſſembled on the quay, inſiſted on being allowed to go out to meet the rebels, and revenge the ſlaughter of their friends. Their officers, to pa- cify them, marched them over the bridge of Wexford, and then addreſſed them, and at laſt prevailed upon them to return to the town.

The terror of the inhabitants that night can better be imagined than deſcribed. To add to it, all the families in the neighbourhood who were able were ſeen flying into the town, leaving their property behind them; the women, who had loſt their huſbands in the late engagement, running through the ſtreets with their fatherleſs children, with all the expreſſions of diſtreſs. No- thing could exceed the anxiety viſible in every countenance of the female inhabitants who had huſbands, ſons, fathers, or brothers, belonging to the different loyal corps of volunteers, and the conſtant apprehenſion of the arrival of the inſur- gents, fluſhed with the recent victory, and now rendered more formidable by having obtained the arms and ammunition of the militia who were ſlain. It indeed appeared to us, unacquainted with the miſeries of civil war, a terrible ſcene.

That night, Sunday, May 27, the loyal inha- bitants were all employed in making preparations for

for the arrival of our foes, and hourly in hopes of reinforcements from Waterford. No attack was made during the night. The next day, Monday, May 28th, about one o'clock, we saw the smoke of the town of Enniscorthy, then in flames. Enniscorthy is situated on the sea-coast, about eleven miles from Wexford. The loyalists made a most gallant defence, and would have repulsed the rebels, had not the Catholic inhabitants treacherously set fire to the town, to smother the troops who were defending it. Thus circumstanced, the troops were obliged to secure their safety in flight, after having cut off about 500 of the rebels. Here it may not be improper to remark, that the manner in which the rebels attacked their opponents was, by driving before them a great quantity of horses (without any persons on them) and cattle, in order to disorder their ranks.

At about four o'clock this afternoon, no description can give an adequate idea of the scene presented at Wexford. Such of the Protestant inhabitants as had escaped from Enniscorthy and its neighbourhood, pushed into the town in crowds; persons of the first fortunes in that part of the country, covered with dust and blood, with their infants in their arms, and their wives clinging behind them; and such women as had not been able to procure a horse or seat with their husbands, endeavouring to keep up with the mob of fugitives, with their children in their arms, and others hanging to them; women who, but a few hours before, were in possession of every comfort life could afford.* The inhabitants of Wexford, still

* The following extract of a letter, written by a very respectable clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Handcock, rector of Kilcormick, who fought with the King's troops in defence of the town,

ſtill more terrified by the ſpectacle now before them, were each endeavouring to ſecure a birth for their wives and children on board ſome one of the veſſels lying in the harbour, every one of which was ſoon filled as full as it could hold. The gallant huſbands and fathers now returned to their reſpective parades, apparently fortified with a double portion of courage, ſince the objects of their tendereſt care ſeemed to have been placed in ſafety. The next morning, Tueſday, May 29, a party of the Donegal militia arrived, with two pieces of cannon, and brought news that more aſſiſtance was advancing; but about twelve o'clock, we received intelligence that a party of

town, will give a perfect idea of the ſufferings of the Proteſtant inhabitants of Enniſcorthy on that day. "Finding that we could "no longer keep our ground, I ruſhed ſingly through the ſtreets, "with a blunderbuſs cocked, and preſented it at every perſon "who looked at me, running for my life, but without the "faintest hope of ſaving it, or that of my family, yet deter- "mined to ſhare their fate, and with great difficulty getting "into my houſe, locked and barricaded by the frighted inmates, "I dragged my wife down ſtairs with my children, juſt as they "ſat in her ſick room: (ſhe lay in but two days before) and "obſerving which way the fugitives were moving out of the "town, I forced them along with the tragical cavalcade, until "my wife, overpowered with terror and the heat of the flames, "fell on a burning pile of rubbiſh, where, unable myſelf from "fatigue to aſſiſt her, ſhe would have been ſuffocated or tram- "pled to death, had not a gallant fellow of the North-Cork "militia, wounded, and ſcarce able to drag his legs after him, "aſſiſted me, ſwearing the Munſter oath, 'By J—s, you did "not forſake us, and I will not forſake you.' The poor fellow "ſtuck by us till we got to Wexford. In return for this, having "got my wife and children behind or before mounted yeomen, "I procured a horſe for his wife, and carried his muſket as "far as I was able. When we came within three or four miles "of Wexford, we were met by the yeoman cavalry of it, who "turned out, on hearing our diſaſter, to cover our retreat."

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the Meath militia, with three howitzers, had been taken by the rebels. Orders were now given that all fires ſhould be put out, and that ſuch houses as had thatched roofs ſhould be immediately ſtripped, to prevent the diſaffected party from following the example of their aſſociates at Enniſcorthy, by ſetting fire to the town during the time of its being attacked.

On Wedneſday, May 30, in the morning, the troops (the Donegal and Cork militia, near 600 in all) went out to meet the rebels, who were now ſuppoſed to be 15,000 ſtrong. About three miles from Wexford, at a place called Three Rocks, there was ſome firing; when the militia, finding them ſo powerful from numbers, and in poſſeſſion of the artillery taken the day before, retreated to the town.

There were at this time in the gaol of Wexford, Mr. Beauchamp, Bagenall Harvey, Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, and Mr. J. Colclough, of Ballytoigue, all men of property and of great intereſt in the county: the two latter were Roman Catholics, but Mr. Harvey was a Proteſtant: they had been apprehended and committed to goal by the High Sheriff, on Saturday the 26th of May, in conſequence of an order from Government.

A council was called, conſiſting of the principal officers in the town; and it was reſolved, that it was impoſſible to defend the town, as the greateſt part of the Catholics who had taken up arms had deſerted. The proportion of the Catholic inhabitants I believe to have been about three to one Proteſtant, but only about 200 had taken up arms; on the remainder, however, no dependence could be placed. Two gentlemen,

Mr.

Mr. Loftus Richards, a counſellor, and his brother, were appointed to offer to ſurrender the town to the rebels, and to endeavour to ſave the lives of the inhabitants; to which condition the rebels agreed. In the mean time, the troops, accompanied by all the unmarried yeomen, effected their eſcape to Duncannon Fort, about twenty-three miles off.

I now return to what more immediately relates to myſelf. On Thurſday, May 24, three days before the breaking out of the rebellion, my wife was brought to bed; and on the Monday following, the day of the battle at Enniſcorthy, I thought myſelf fortunate in being able to remove her with her infant, and place them on board one of the veſſels, in which we had no doubt of being ſafely carried to Wales. In this veſſel we continued on the open deck, with only a ſail to cover us, till Wedneſday morning, May 30, when, about two o'clock, we ſaw the toll-houſe and part of the bridge of Wexford on fire. The town was immediately in an uproar; and, while the cavalry were endeavouring to cut away a part of the bridge, to prevent the flames from communicating to the town, the quays, and every avenue leading to the water-ſide, were crowded with women and children, begging, in the moſt pitiable manner, to be admitted on board the veſſels. But that was impoſſible; they were already filled in every part. —One young lady, in particular, threw herſelf into the ſea, to get on board a ſmall boat that was near the quay, and would have been drowned, had not ſome men in a boat taken her up: and they were immediately in great danger of loſing their lives, owing to the numbers who preſſed forward to reach their boat. On ſeeing the flames, the veſſels all weighed and ſtood towards the mouth

mouth of the harbour, where they caſt anchor. About one o'clock a white flag was ſeen flying in Wexford, (a ſignal that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of the town) and the captain of our veſſel inſtantly anſwered it by another. His example was immediately followed by the reſt, except two, which ſailed for Wales. They then again weighed anchor, and ſtood for the town. We now concluded the die was caſt, and that we were to be given up to our enemies. Every entreaty I could urge was ſtrenuouſly enforced to induce the captain to carry us to Wales, but without effect. With a mind almoſt diſtracted, I went into the hold, where my wife and her infant were now lodged, to take what I ſuppoſed would be a laſt farewell: but the horror expreſſed in her emaciated countenance deterred me from communicating all my apprehenſions. At length we arrived at the quay; and, with my charge, I was landed on the beach. Which way to turn me I knew not, and every moment expected that a ball or pike would put an end to my miſeries. Towards my own houſe I was afraid to move, believing that I ſhould be murdered on my way. While I was in this anxious ſtate of ſuſpenſe, one of their captains, of the name of Furlong, came up to me, and aſked if I belonged to the town, and whether I had any arms. I told him, that, at the houſe where I had lived, I had a muſket. He bid me follow him, and give it up. I requeſted him to protect us through the town, as we had half a mile to go to my houſe, which he promiſed. We paſſed through crowds of the rebels, who were in the moſt diſorderly ſtate, without the leaſt appearance of diſcipline. They had no kind of uniform, but were moſt of them in the dreſs of labourers, white bands round their hats, and green cockades,

cockades,* being the only marks by which they were diſtinguiſhed. They made a moſt fantaſtic appearance, many having decorated themſelves with parts of the apparel of ladies, found in houſes which they had plundered. Some wore ladies' hats and feathers; others, caps, bonnets, and tippets. From the military which were routed, they had alſo collected ſome clothing, which added to the motley ſhow. Their arms conſiſted chiefly of pikes of an enormous length, the handles of many of them being ſixteen or eighteen feet long, ſcythes, hay-knives, ſcrapers, currying knives, and old ruſty bayonets fixed on poles; ſome carried ruſty muſkets. They were accompanied by great numbers of women ſhouting and huzzaing for the *Croppies*, and crying, Who now dare ſay, "*Croppies lie down?*" alluding to a popular ſong. It was impoſſible for a mob to be more wild and frantic: many of the men ſeemed in a ſtate of intoxication. The houſes firſt attacked were the Cuſtom-Houſe, that of Mr. Lee the collector, Captain Boyd's, and the Rev. Mr. Millar's. In a ſhort time nothing remained but the bare walls. The Catholic inhabitants were unmoleſted, and numbers of them aſſiſted the rebels, and even ſeized and delivered up their Proteſtant neighbours, a great number of whom were committed to priſon.

Following cloſe the horſe of our conductor, I paſſed ſafely with my wife and child through this terrible ſcene to my houſe. I gave him my muſket, and he rode off. My wife laid down on a bed, and I crept under it, thinking to hide myſelf in caſe I ſhould be ſought for. I had not

* *Green* has been adopted as an emblem by the Irish rebels, with a reference to the trefoil, or *ſhamrock*.

been

been in this ſituation more than ten minutes, when I heard my name called, and a ſound of feet on the ſtairs. Preſently the door opened, and one Patrick Murphy, with ſix others, all armed, came into the room. This Murphy was a near neighbour of mine, and had always profeſſed a great regard for me. My wife, on ſeeing him, threw herſelf off the bed with the child in her arms, and fell on her knees, entreating them to ſpare me. One of them ſwore, if ſhe did not ſay where I was, he would blow her brains out. On hearing this, from fear of her being injured, I ſhewed myſelf, and was immediately ſeized and dragged down ſtairs. My wife begged to be allowed to go along with me: but they told her, if ſhe attempted to follow, they would run her through with their pikes. I left my houſe, ſuffering the pangs of a man going to execution, and was conducted to the barracks, near a mile off, through ſtreets filled with creatures, who appeared to me more like devils than men.

At the barracks I was put into a room, in which there were about eight others, all expecting ſoon to be put to death. Every moment ſome of the rebels, with pikes and piſtols in their hands, came in to view us. After remaining in this ſituation about an hour, one of the rebels, armed with an old bayonet fixed to the end of a long pole, ruſhed in, aſking if there were any bloody Orange-men* or informers there. One of the townſmen pointed

* An *Orange* ribbon, from the time of the Revolution, has been the emblem of loyalty and protestantism in Ireland; and every Protestant is now denominated by the Irish Rebels an *Orange-man*, from his respect to the memory of King William III. (Prince of *Orange*) who rescued Ireland from the dominion of popery and slavery.

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me out; on which he made a thruſt at my throat; but the point was prevented from entering by a thick cuſhion under my cravat. He then wounded me ſlightly juſt below my hip. At that moment, Counſel Richards, belonging to the town, who had been obliged to join the rebels to ſave his own life, came into the room with Mr. Bagenall Harvey, who had been taken out of the gaol, and was made commander in chief by the rebels,—and ſeeing the ſtate I was in, requeſted him to ſave me, which Mr. Harvey did by taking me out with him. Which way to go I knew not, and intreated Mr. Richards to convey me to a place of ſafety. He ſaid, he did not know what was beſt to do with me, but would take me to a Mr. Hughes, at the Foley, a brewery:—he accordingly protected me through the midſt of the mob, as we had to go almoſt two hundred yards from the barracks. Unfortunately, as I entered the houſe, one of the townſmen ſaw me, and informed others that an Orange-man had ſecreted himſelf in that houſe. I went up a back ſtair-caſe, and got into a ſmall room at the top of the houſe; where was a bed lying upon the ground. Being almoſt exhauſted, I intended to lie down; but had not been above five minutes in the room, when I heard perſons below ſearching the houſe. I opened a window that looked into the garden, and thought to have leaped out, but fortunately ſaw the tops of ſome of the rebel-pikes juſt under me. I ſhould then have crept under the bed, but providentially ſaw a ſmall door in the inſide of the room, belonging to a cupboard, which was formed by the eaves of the houſe. I got in, but was forced to ſit almoſt double. My purſuers ſoon afterwards came into the room; and, not ſeeing me, were going out again, when one of them called the

others back to examine the cupboard, which he had juſt obſerved. I then thought nothing could ſave me; and if ever living man felt the terrors of death, I did. He opened the door of the cupboard, but, providentially, holding his muſket ſlanting, the muzzle, puſhed into the cupboard, ſtruck againſt the roof; on which, ſuppoſing it empty, without turning his head, he went away. Thus diſappointed, I heard them propoſe to ſet fire to the houſe; but that was over-ruled.

In that ſituation I continued till ten o'clock at night. I then ventured out, and got over the rocks to a place called Maudlin-Town, (near a mile from Wexford) to the houſe of an old woman of the name of Cole, whom I thought I could truſt. I found the houſe empty, and without any furniture, except an old bedſtead with ſome ſtraw upon it. Being fearful I ſhould be ſeen if I lay at top, I was forced to get under it, and lay the whole night upon nothing but the earthen floor. Having eat nothing the whole day, and being almoſt worn out with exertion and agitation of ſpirits, I endeavoured to ſleep; but my terror, for fear the rebels ſhould come in and put me to death, prevented me. People came into the cabin ſeveral times during the night, but never looked under the bed. About eight o'clock the next morning, May 31, the old woman who owned the cabin came home, (ſhe was a Roman Catholic) and I made myſelf known to her, begging in the moſt earneſt manner that ſhe would permit me to remain concealed there till affairs were a little ſettled. She told me ſhe would as long as ſhe could without endangering herſelf, and that ſhe would go into town, and ſee how matters went, which ſhe accordingly did; and in about two hours returned with information,

tion, that the inſurgents were ſearching all the houſes for Proteſtants, and committing them to gaol; and further told me, if I ſhould be found there, that they would kill her, and burn the houſe; therefore it was neceſſary I ſhould go to ſome other place. I thought it prudent to comply. She then gave me ſome bread and beer, and adviſed me to try and get among the fields, and lie in the hedges by day, and travel by night*. Accordingly now, as every houſe was ſhut againſt me, and I had no friend to fly to for refuge, I got out at her back-door, and went about two miles acroſs the country, when I met an old woman, and requeſted her to ſhew me what road I had better take to effect my eſcape. She told me it was in vain to attempt it; for that, if I did not belong to the rebels, my own brother would betray me. I left her, and went on; but ſoon heard voices behind me, calling on me to ſtop, and I ſhould have mercy. I turned round, and ſaw ſix men advancing with pikes in their hands. They ſeized me, and conducted me back to town, and then put me into gaol, in which I found about two hundred and twenty Proteſtants. The gaol is a very ſtrong building, ſituated at a ſhort diſtance from the barracks, and ſo built round with walls, that you can ſee no perſon whatever paſs or repaſs.

Towards the evening of this day, (May 31,) a fellow of the name of Dick Monk, one who had formerly been a ſhoe-black in the town, but now was raiſed by the rebels to the rank of a captain, came into the gaol, and bid us prepare our ſouls for death, for that all of us, except ſuch as upon

* She afterwards informed my wife I had not been gone ten minutes when they came ſearching for me.

examination he ſhould releaſe, would be put to death at twelve o'clock that night. The manner of his examining was twofold; firſt politically, and then religiouſly. The form of his political examination was this:—

Queſtion. Are you ſtraight?
Anſwer. I am.
Queſtion. How ſtraight?
Anſwer. As ſtraight as a ruſh.
Queſtion. Go on then.
Anſwer. In truth, in Truſt, in Unity, and in Liberty.
Queſtion. What have you got in your hand?
Anſwer. A green bough.
Queſtion. Where did it firſt grow?
Anſwer. In America.
Queſtion. Where did it bud?
Anſwer. In France.
Queſtion. Where are you going to plant it?
Anſwer. In the Crown of Great Britain.

They then gave each other the hand, but in a way I did not underſtand. The preceding queſtions and anſwers, however, appeared to be a part of the *United Iriſhmen's* catechiſm, by which they know each other.

The religious examination was this:—

Queſtion. Are you a Chriſtian?

If the perſon anſwered, *Yes!* he was requeſted to croſs himſelf, and ſay the Ave Maria. If he could do this in the Roman Catholic manner, and go through the other form, then he was acquitted.

I believe Monk, after having gone through this twofold examination with ſeveral perſons, ſelected ſix to be ſaved, and took them with him out of the priſon. The ſituation of us that remained can better be imagined than deſcribed.

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We all went directly to prayer, and ſpent the night in the moſt horrid ſuſpenſe. No one, however, came near us that night. The next morning, June 1, ſome potatoes and water were brought us, which proved a very ſeaſonable relief.

On the Sunday following, June 3, a man of the name of Murphy, by trade a labourer, but who had been an evidence againſt ſome of the United Iriſhmen at the preceding aſſizes, (though none of them ſuffered,) was taken up by the rebels and condemned to die.

On Monday morning, June 4, about nine o'clock, John Gurly, one of the priſoners, came to me; "Jackſon," ſaid he, "the Lord have "mercy upon you! You are called to go into "the yard with my brother Jonas and Kinneith "Mathews*." The words had ſuch an effect on me, that my tongue cleaved to the roof of my mouth; for I thought I was called to be executed. The gaoler came in and took us into the yard, where was one Edward Fraine, a tanner, who lived in John-ſtreet, and was ſuppoſed to make by his trade 300l. a year. There were alſo many other perſons belonging to the town. Fraine was captain of the rebel-guard for the day. As ſoon as I came out, he ſaid, "Mr. Jackſon, "I believe you know what we want of you." —I anſwered, "Yes, I ſuppoſe I am going to "die." I then fell upon my knees, and begged, that, if that was the caſe, I might be allowed to ſee my wife and child. He ſwore that I ſhould

* Jonas Gurly was a hatter, and Mathews a toll-gatherer of the bridge of Wexford. Sir R. Musgrave ſpells this name Matthewson; but which is right I know not, though certainly we both mean the ſame perſon.

not, that I was not then going to die; but that a man was to die at ſix o'clock that evening, and that he did not know more proper perſons to execute him than me and the two others. He added, " I ſuppoſe you can have no objection, as " he is a Roman Catholic?"—" Why, ſir," ſaid I, " ſhould I have no objection to commit mur- " der?"—" You need not talk," replied he, " about murder. If you make any objections, " you ſhall be put to death in ten minutes: but " if you do your buſineſs properly, perhaps you " may live two or three days longer. So I expect " you three will be ready at ſix o'clock this even- " ing."—Another then came up, and ſaid, " Mr. " Jackſon, if you could procure a few Orange " ribbons, to tie about your neck at the time of " the execution, it would, I think, have a very " pretty appearance; and, at the ſame time, I " have a couple of balls much at your ſervice, " when it is over; as I think it is a pity you ſhould " get no return for the favour you confer."—After theſe taunts, we were carried back to our cells, and ſpent the day in prayer till ſix o'clock; at which time, being brought to the great door, we found the priſoner Murphy, with nearly a thouſand men about him.—The proceſſion went in the following order. A large body of pike-men, who were formed into a hollow ſquare. A black flag. Then the drums and fifes. Murphy, the condemned man, came next, followed by me, with Gurly and Mathews behind me. As ſoon as this arrangement was made, the Dead March was ſtruck up, and beat from the gaol to the place of execution, which was a mile and a half off, on the other ſide of the bridge, on a wide ſtrand. The proceſſion paſſed by my houſe. When I came oppoſite to it, I was ſo much affected

affected as almoſt to faint: ſome water was brought me, and I proceeded. As ſoon as we reached the deſtined ſpot, all the rebels, with their arms in their hands, kneeled down, and prayed for about five minutes. This I underſtood was becauſe the victim was a Roman Catholic. An order was then given to form a half-circle, with an opening to the water. The poor man was directed to kneel down, with his back to the water, and his face towards us; which he did, with his hands claſped. I requeſted to be allowed to tie my cravat round his eyes. They told me not to be too nice about the matter, for in a few minutes it would be my own caſe. The muſkets were then called for; but it was ſuggeſted, if they gave us three muſkets, we might turn and fire at them: on which it was ſettled that we ſhould fire one at a time. The firſt appointed to fire was Mathews; and it was remarkable the piece miſſed fire three times. During this time, the countenance of the condemned man exhibited ſuch an appearance of inexpreſſible terror, as will never be effaced from my memory. The man who owned the muſket was *damned*, and aſked, What ſort of piece was that to carry to a field of battle?—A common ſporting-gun was then brought, and fired by Mathews, and the ball hit the poor man in the arm. I was next called upon; and, ſuſpecting that I ſhould not fire at their object, but turn upon them, two men advanced, one on each ſide of me, and held cocked piſtols to my head; two alſo ſtood behind me with cavalry ſwords, threatening me with inſtant death, if I miſſed the mark. I fired, and the poor man fell dead. After which Gurly was obliged to fire at the proſtrate body. When it was over, a propoſal was made, that I ſhould waſh

my hands in his blood, but this was over-ruled; and they ſaid, as I had done my buſineſs well, I ſhould go back. A ring was now formed round us, and a ſong in honour of the Iriſh Republic was ſung to the tune of "God ſave the King!" This dreadful buſineſs had taken up about three hours, when we were marched back to the gaol.

Two days paſſed without my being particularly noticed; but during that period many priſoners were taken out, a few at a time, and, being carried to the camp, were piked to death. On Wedneſday, June 6, information having been received that the Rebels were defeated at Roſs*, to revenge the loſs, fifteen of the Wexford, and ten of the Enniſcorthy people, were ordered out of the gaol for execution. When this notice was given, I ran into my cell, got upon my knees in a dark corner, and pulled ſome ſtraw over me: but a man of the name of Prendergaſt came in, and drew me out, uttering ſhocking threats againſt me. He dragged me into the yard, where I found my unhappy comrades upon their knees. One of them, who had been bred a Proteſtant, but had become a Catholic, and who was now impriſoned on a charge of being an Orange-man, requeſted to have the prieſt with him before he died. This was immediately granted; and a meſſenger was ſent to Father Curran, the Roman Catholic pariſh-prieſt of Wexford: he preſently came; and, to give effect to his admonition and interceſſion, had dreſſed himſelf in his cowl, and bore a crucifix in his hand: he held up the crucifix, and all preſent fell on their knees: he ex-

* The battle of Ross was fought on the 5th of June. The rebels were defeated with immense loss, a thousand dead bodies being left in the town.

horted

horted them in the moſt earneſt manner; he conjured them, as they hoped for mercy, to ſhew it: he made every poſſible exertion to ſave the lives of all the priſoners—but it was in vain. He ſaid, he could witneſs that the Wexford people had never fired upon them, or done them any injury; and that he could not again ſay maſs to them, if they perſiſted in their cruel reſolutions. At laſt, he influenced them ſo far as to prevail upon them to return into the gaol the fifteen Wexford men; but, for thoſe from Enniſcorthy, he could obtain no remiſſion:—accordingly theſe ten unfortunate perſons were murdered.

We then were taken back to our confinement, and in that ſtate remained for a fortnight, every day ſeeing more priſoners brought in, and others taken out to be maſſacred, each of us apprehending it would next be his lot. On Wedneſday, June 20, about 8 o'clock in the morning, we heard the drums beat to arms and the town-bell ring, which was a ſure ſign to us of our friends being near; but, at the ſame time, we expected we ſhould be cut off before they could arrive and releaſe us. In this terrible ſtate of ſuſpenſe we remained till four o'clock in the afternoon, when we heard a horrid noiſe at the gate, and a demand of all the priſoners. Eighteen or twenty were immediately taken out to the bridge of Wexford, and there piked to death, and in about half an hour the rebels returned for more victims. In the whole, they took out ninety-eight. Thoſe who were laſt called out were ſeventeen in number. Mr. Daniell and Mr. Robinſon, both gaugers; Mr. Atkins, a tide waiter; Mathews and Gurly, who were with me at the execution of Murphy, were included in this lot. When we were turned out of the ward in which we had been confined,

into

into the gaol-yard, we all fell upon our knees, and (wonderful inconſiſtency of man!) ſeveral of the rebels who were to attend us to execution, and perhaps to be our murderers, kneeled down with us, and began to pray. It happened that I was ſo placed in the group, as to be ſurrounded by perſons much taller than myſelf, which either cauſed me to be unnoticed, or the rebels who came into the gaol to demand us did not perſonally know me: but while I was in that ſituation on my knees, my name was repeatedly called, and the ward was ſearched for me. This was owing to the mob having particularly called for me by name, and demanded that I ſhould be brought out of the gaol. I was ſo overcome with terror and agitation, that I did not anſwer to the frequent repetitions of my name. During this time there was indeed a man among the rebels, who ſaw and knew me, and made ſigns to me to be ſilent. This man was a black, and had been ſervant to a gentleman in the town of Wexford. To the delay occaſioned by their not diſcovering me, it will hereafter appear that I and probably many others owed our lives, as a conſiderable time was ſpent in ſearching for me, before it was known that I was on my knees among the priſoners; who were then ordered to riſe and go forward. The mob at the outſide, at the head of whom was Dixon, a publican, (who had been made a captain by the rebels) and his wife, were very clamorous on account of the delay. The moment Mathews put his head out of the gaol, he was ſhot dead; which would probably have been the fate of us all, had not Mrs. Dixon, when Mathews fell, immediately advanced, and deſired they would deſiſt, as they ought to allow the people on the bridge *the pleaſure of ſeeing us.*

We

We were accordingly marched to the bridge; and, when we came in ſight of the people aſſembled there to witneſs the execution, they almoſt rent the air with ſhouts and exultations; which, with a violent ſtorm of wind that had ſuddenly riſen, a ſky that appeared of the blackeſt colour, and a continual firing of guns by the undiſciplined mob, all together produced an effect the moſt horrible that the imagination can form. I felt as if cold lead was in my veins;—a benumbing kind of ſtupor deadened all my faculties. My mind urged me to implore mercy of Heaven, but I could ſcarcely atriculate a word of prayer. It was a condition which cannot be deſcribed. When we arrived at the fatal ſpot on the bridge, I and my ſixteen fellow-priſoners knelt down in a row. The blood of thoſe who had been already executed on this ſpot (eighty-one in number) had more than ſtained, it ſtreamed upon, the ground about us. They firſt began the bloody tragedy by taking out Mr. Daniell, who, the moment he was touched with their pikes, ſprung over the battlements of the bridge into the water, where he was inſtantly ſhot. Mr. Robinſon was the next: he was piked to death.—The manner of piking was, by two of the rebels puſhing their pikes into the front of the victim, while two others puſhed pikes into his back; and in this ſtate, writhing with torture, he was ſuſpended aloft on the pikes till dead. He was then thrown over the bridge into the water.—They ripped open the belly of poor Mr. Atkins; and, in that condition, he ran ſeveral yards; when, falling on the ſide of the bridge, he was piked. Thus they proceeded till they came to Gurly, who was next to me. At that moment, one of them came up to me, and aſked me if I would have a prieſt. I

felt

felt my death to be certain, and I anſwered "No." He then pulled me by the collar; but was deſired to wait till Gurly was finiſhed. While they were torturing him, General Roche rode up in great haſte, and bid them beat to arms; informing them that Vinegar-Hill camp was beſet, and that reinforcements were wanting. This operated like lightning upon them: they all inſtantly quitted the bridge, and left Mr. O'Connor, an organiſt; William Hamilton, the bailiff of the town; and myſelf, on our knees*. The mob (conſiſting of more women than men) which had been ſpectators of this dreadful ſcene, alſo inſtantly diſperſed in every direction, ſuppoſing the King's troops were at hand. We were ſo ſtupified by terror, that we remained for ſome time on our knees, without making the leaſt effort to eſcape. The rebel-guard ſoon came to us, and took us back to the gaol; telling us, that we ſhould not eſcape longer than the next day, when neither man, woman, or child, of the Proteſtants, ſhould be left alive. But it pleaſed GOD to prevent their dreadful intention from being carried into effect, by giving ſucceſs to his Majeſty's arms.

Sir Richard Muſgrave gives the following account of this dreadful buſineſs.

"I ſhall give the reader an account of this "tragical affair, as related to me by ſome re-

* Sir R. Musgrave mentions, that when the rebels retreated from the bridge, on the alarm being given by General Roche, Dixon and his wife attempted to follow them, but their horses startled at the immense quantity of blood which was shed on the bridge, and refused to pass through it; on which they dismounted, and led their horses over the bridge, she at the same time holding up her riding habit, to prevent its being stained with blood. She was heard to desire the rebels not to waste their ammunition, but to give the prisoners plenty of piking.

"ſpectable

" ſpectable perſons who reſided in Mr. Hatchel's
" houſe, very near the bridge, where it was per-
" petrated, and were eye-witneſſes of it. Between
" the hours of ten and eleven o'clock on the
" morning of the 20th of June, we ſaw a body
" of rebels coming over the bridge, bearing a
" black flag, with a croſs, and the letters M W S
" inſcribed on it in white; which was ſuppoſed
" to mean, *Murder without ſin;* and, on the
" other ſide, a red croſs. After having made a
" proceſſion through part of the town, they fixed
" that woeful harbinger of death on the cuſtom-
" houſe quay, near the fatal ſpot where ſo much
" blood was ſoon after ſhed; and where it re-
" mained flying for about two hours before the
" butchery began.

" Soon after they arrived on the quay, they
" ſeemed to diſperſe; however many of them
" remained there, and repaired to one particular
" place, where drink was given to them, and
" where a prieſt was very buſy in diſtributing it;
" and who, they believed, remained there till
" they left the quay, ſhouting 'To the gaol! To
" the gaol!' when they all diſappeared, but re-
" turned about four o'clock to the bridge, with
" a number of priſoners, whom they maſſacred.
" They thus continued till about ſeven o'clock
" to convey parties of priſoners of from ten to
" twenty, from the gaol and the market-houſe,
" where many of them were confined, to the
" bridge, where they butchered them. Every
" proceſſion was preceded by the black flag, and
" the priſoners were ſurrounded by ruthleſs pike-
" men, as guards, who often inſultingly deſired
" them to bleſs themſelves. The mob, conſiſt-
" ing of more women than men, expreſſed their

" ſavage

" ſavage joy on the immolation of each of the " victims by loud huzzas.

" After they had maſſacred ninety-ſeven pri- " ſoners, and before they could proceed further " in the buſineſs, an expreſs rode up in great " haſte, and bid them beat to arms, as Vinegar- " Hill was beſet, and reinforements were wanting. " There was immediately a cry, ' To camp! To " camp!' The rebels ſeemed in ſuch confuſion, " that the maſſacre was diſcontinued. In the " moment of flying to the camp many were heard " to exclaim, ' Come on, boys, in the name of " God, to the camp! Thank God, we have ſent " theſe ſouls to hell!"

We entered the gaol with hearts overflowing with gratitude to the ALMIGHTY for our late wonderful preſervation. For the arrival of the troops we looked with ſome hope and extreme anxiety, the whole night, till about five o'clock in the morning, when we heard the joyful ſound of cannon. Our agitation increaſed; one moment expecting the troops to arrive, and the next that we might on the inſtant be put to death; when, about eleven o'clock, June 21ſt, the turnkey came to us, to inform us that we might walk out into the large yard. He addreſſed us by the title of *Gentlemen*, from which we were aſſured that ſome great alteration had taken place: but we ſuppreſſed our feelings, leſt the news which influenced them might not be true. About three o'clock, the captain of the rebel-guard, a Mr. Murphy, came in, and addreſſed Major Savage, one of the priſoners, offering him the keys of the gaol, and arms for us all, if he would admit ſome of the rebels into the gaol, and ſtrive to ſave them from that fate their own conſciences told them they

they ſo richly deſerved. This Murphy kept an earthenware-ſhop on the quay at Wexford. His offer was inſtantly accepted by all, and accordingly we obtained the arms of thoſe who a few minutes before were guarding us. The rebels now changed ſituations with us, and, as agreed upon, were locked up by Major Savage, who brought all of us who had muſkets to the iron rails on each ſide of the great priſon-door. Here we ſtood, determined to conquer or die, if attacked. About five o'clock we had the heartfelt gratification of ſeeing the gallant Captain Boyd, accompanied by the following perſons, who with great magnanimity volunteered in that perilous ſervice, and ran a riſk of devoting their own lives to ſave the property and lives of the Proteſtant inhabitants who remained in the town: they were all members of the Wexford cavalry corps but one. Captain James Boyd, member of Parliament; Lieutenant Percival, high ſheriff for the county; Corporal John Stetham; Corporal William Hughes; A. H. Jacob, of the Enniſcorthy corps; and the following privates; John Tench, Joſeph Sutton, Archer Bayly, Marcus Doyle, Abraham Howlin, John Byrne, and William M'Cabe. Mr. Boyd's ſervant, Chriſtopher Irwine, permanent ſerjeant of the troop, followed them rapidly on foot, his horſe having been ſhot. They daſhed into the town, with a degree of valour bordering on deſpair, and announced with a loud voice, that the army was at their heels. This gave the rebels ſuch an electric ſhock, that, panick-ſtruck, they fled in all directions; ſome over the bridge, others to the barony of Forth. Their conſternation was ſo great, that very few of them attempted, on their flight, to injure the inhabitants of the town. One rebel fired at Meſſrs. Rudd

and

and Jacob; but the former ſoon diſpatched him. A rebel fired at Lord Kingſborough in the ſtreet; for which another perſon, a loyaliſt, inſtantly ſhot him. Captain Boyd, as he paſſed the gaol, called out to us not to leave the gaol at preſent, as the troops, expected in town, might ſuppoſe us enemies. This precaution proved not to be neceſſary, for the troops were encamped a mile ſhort of the town, and orders iſſued by the Generals, that no man ſhould be put to death, unleſs he had been tried and condemned by a court-martial. In about an hour after Captain Boyd left us, two companies of the Queen's Royals arrived, and, giving three cheers, ſet us at liberty. All the green boughs were immediately torn from the windows; and "LIBERTY AND EQUALITY," which before were conſpicuous on every door, were now no where to be ſeen.

Reprieved criminals only can have experienced ſuch feelings as ours, on being releaſed. The ſcene that followed no pen can deſcribe. Women running in every direction towards the gaol, trembling for the fate of their relatives who had been impriſoned: wives ſeeking for their huſbands, mothers for their ſons, ſiſters for their brothers, and children for their fathers. The exſtacy of thoſe who diſcovered their friends, and the diſtraction of others who had loſt their deareſt connexions, cannot be imagined. The gallant ſoldiers who were witneſſes of what paſſed, though now accuſtomed to diſtreſſing ſpectacles, could not refrain from ſhedding tears, or joining in the exultations. In ſome inſtances, the wife, ſeeing her huſband, would ruſh into his arms, and overwhelm him with careſſes; but, on enquiring for a brother, learned he was no more! One inſtance I cannot refrain from mentioning. A woman

woman of the name of Smith, whoſe huſband was a hatter, and brother-in-law to Gurly, who ſuffered on the bridge, came with her ſeven children to the cell, where I had been confined, to inquire for her huſband. He was put to death the night before. While ſhe heard the account of his fate, ſhe ſaw his hat lying on the ground. She ſeized it, and the children clung to it with ſhrieks and ſcreams, till ſhe fainted away, and was carried off, followed by her weeping babes. But to relate the particulars of that never to be forgotton day, would fill a volume. Of myſelf I will not ſay more, than that, in the midſt of the ſcene I have attempted to deſcribe, my wife, with her infant, appeared before me! The ſenſations of both left us no power of utterance. She ſaw me, as it were, reſtored to life; and till then I was ignorant of her fate. We had been ſeparated three weeks and two days: during which time I was in conſtant expectation of death; and ſhe had lingered with ſcarcely a gleam of hope that I ſhould eſcape. My infant I had ſcarcely contemplated a moment in peace from the hour of its birth.

We quitted a ſpot become horrid to me, and went to the place where I once had a comfortable home. The houſe was ſtanding uninjured; but every thing belonging to me had been deſtroyed, even to my working tools, within half an hour after the time I was firſt taken to gaol. A lady in the neighbourhood humanely afforded us an aſylum, and once more we ſat down in ſecurity.

Dixon the publican, who had been guilty of great barbarity, and his more barbarous wife; Dick Monk, the ſhoe-black, and many others, made their eſcape before the King's troops re-

covered Wexford; but, before night, many perſons, who had joined the rebels, but ſtill remained in the town, were taken up, and committed to gaol. The next day (June 22) a military court-martial was aſſembled, compoſed of one general-officer, and ſix colonels from different regiments. Never were trials carried on more impartially than thoſe which now took place. Every man, who gave evidence, was examined upon oath; and the priſoners were allowed to call all whom they required in their juſtification. The trial of Mr. Bagenall Harvey laſted near eight hours, though it was univerſally known he had acted as commander in chief of the rebels.

As Mr. Harvey ſtood in ſo conſpicuous a ſituation among the rebels, I naturally imagine my ſtory will render a ſhort account of him intereſting. He was ſon of a proteſtant clergyman, who bore a moſt reſpectable character; and, in fact, his whole family were univerſally and deſervedly beloved. He poſſeſſed a good eſtate in the county of Wexford; and, having been called to the bar, was uſually ſtyled Counſellor Harvey. He was a man of almoſt the loweſt ſtature, thin, and his viſage long, with very plain features. In his eyes there was ſomething expreſſive. His private character was much reſpected. Nothing occaſioned more aſtoniſhment among the generality of the inhabitants of Wexford, than when the order came from Dublin to take him up: but his future conduct ſufficiently proved how accurate Government was in its information. The firſt time I ſaw Mr. Harvey, after the rebels were maſters of the town, was at the time I was carried a priſoner to the barracks, where I ſaw him and General Roche taking

taking poſſeſſion of the King's ſtores, and endeavouring to reduce the infatuated unruly mob, of which he was nominal commander, to ſome degree of order. Mr. Harvey wore his ordinary clothes, with the addition of ſilver epaulets; but, when I ſaw him, he had no arms, except a piſtol, which he carried in his hand. He appeared to me to be about forty years of age.

Edward Roche, who was appointed general, was a middling country farmer near Wexford; and, before the rebellion, was permanent ſerjeant in Colonel Le Hunte's corps of yeoman cavalry. He was not much taller than Bagenall Harvey; but a great deal more corpulent, and about forty years old. He wore common coloured clothes; which were a ſnuff-coloured coat, black waiſtcoat, corduroy breeches, and a round hat: but for diſtinction he had two moſt enormous gold epaulets, and a ſilk ſaſh and belt, in which he carried a large pair of horſe-piſtols; and he wore a ſword by his ſide. Indeed, I never ſaw any thing like an uniform amongſt them, except upon Dick Monk, the ſhoe-black, who, ſhortly after his appointment to the rank of captain, had a light-horſeman's jacket of green made, with ſilver lace croſs-banded in front; pantaloons to match, with ſilver ſeams; and a green helmet-cap, with a white oſtrich-feather acroſs the top.

The whole of the rebels, as I have obſerved before, wore white bands round their hats. Some of a higher order had the Iriſh harp, drawn in gold leaf upon a green ground, encircled with the words "*Erin ga braugh!*" ſignifying "Ireland for ever!" Others of a more deſperate turn had a broad green ribbon bound entirely round their hats, with "LIBERTY AND EQUALITY!" in large ſilver letters, in the front. So great

their veneration for the green colour, that the women were obliged to have ribbons, and many of them neck-handkerchiefs, of that colour; while, on the other hand, their antipathy to orange was ſo great, that Colonel Le Hunte nearly loſt his life, owing to his having a fire-ſcreen, and the furniture of a room, trimmed with that colour.

Mr. Keughe, who was made by the rebels governor of Wexford, was originally a drummer in his Majeſty's army, (I believe in the thirty-third regiment) and, during the American war, had been advanced from that ſtation to the rank of captain. He had quitted the army, and actually received half-pay at the time the rebellion broke out; was about fifty-four years of age, rather above the middling ſize, and might be called a well-looking man. His head was quite bald in the front; and he wore his hair, which was extremely white, tied behind. He had very much the appearance and manner of a gentleman, was married to a very handſome woman, much younger than himſelf, but had no children, and was comfortably ſituated in a very good houſe in George's Street, Wexford. When the rebellion broke out there, on Whitſunday, on the alarm being given, he volunteered in one of the yeomanry corps, and was actually employed, the evening of that day, in eſtabliſhing fortifications to repulſe the inſurgents; and, on the day following, he was appointed to command a party of volunteers, which was to guard one of the entrances to the town: yet on the rebels taking poſſeſſion of the town, May 30th, he joined them, and was appointed chief-governor; and continued in that ſituation till his Majeſty's troops obtained poſſeſſion of it. Numbers of priſoners, who had been ſeized in the

the country, were carried before him officially, previous to their being committed to the gaol of Wexford.

Having deſcribed the three principal officers among the rebels, I ſhall add a ſhort account of Mr. Colclough, and of Mr. Grogan, both men of property in the county of Wexford.

Mr. Colclough was in ſtature of a full middle ſize, had rather a long viſage, and wore his own hair, which was of a ſandy colour, tied behind. He was about thirty years of age, of a cheerful aſpect, and polite manners.

Mr. Cornelius Grogan was a gentleman of, I believe, near ſixty years of age; and was conſidered to be one of the richeſt men in the country. He reſided at a place called Johnſtown, about three miles from Wexford, where he had a very large eſtate; ſome hundred acres of which were encloſed in a deer-park. He bore an exceedingly good character among his tenantry; but was always thought to be of a retired and remarkably near diſpoſition. He had never been known to take an active part in political matters; but paſſed moſt of his time in trying mechanical experiments, and was eſteemed to be in this way very ingenious. He had two younger brothers, each of whom was colonel of a corps of yeomen, and of approved loyalty. One of them was killed charging the rebels at the head of his corps; and the other was wounded in a like ſituation. In perſon he was of the middle ſize, and had rather a moroſe countenance.

I ſhall now, before I continue my journal of proceedings after the town was re-taken, relate ſome particulars of what paſſed during the time of our confinement in gaol, while the power of the rebels continued to be undiſturbed.

Leſt any apprehenſions of the arrival of Engliſh troops ſhould have an effect on the minds of the rebels, they were conſtantly informed, that England was exactly in the ſame ſtate as Ireland; that three counties had already riſen in rebellion; and, on that account, not a ſingle man of the King's troops could poſſibly be ſpared. They ſeemed likewiſe to place great dependence upon the Scotch troops; and hoped, if they came to action together, the Scotch would immediately come over to them: and one day a report was confidently propagated, that two Scotch regiments had ſhot their officers, and joined the rebels in the county of Kildare. To keep up the ſpirits of theſe deluded men, aſſertions were daily made of victories having been gained over the King's troops. One day a rebel came into the gaol, and, knowing me, entered into converſation. He told me Dublin, could not hold out a week longer; that it was crowded with inhabitants, and that there were but a few days' proviſions in the town, which was ſo ſurrounded, that no ſupply could be received. I aſked if the town might not be ſupplied by ſea? That, he replied, was alſo impoſſible, as the mouth of the harbour was blocked up by their armed boats.

Notwithſtanding the care that was thus hourly taken to impreſs on the minds of the rebels every motive to keep them together, and to render them ſubſervient to ſome order, it proved to be impoſſible. About a week after they had got poſſeſſion of the town of Wexford, the firſt attack upon Roſs was made, and the rebels were defeated. In the retreat, between three and four hundred of the country people, belonging to a part of the county of Wexford called the Barony of Forth, had, inſtead of proceeding to the camp appointed

appointed for them at Carrickburne, gone to their own homes; it may be ſuppoſed heartily tired of a life of uncertainty and hardſhip. During the whole of the time they were in poſſeſſion of the county of Wexford, they had been obliged to lie in the open air, without any thing under or over them, except ſome few ſubſtitutes for tents, made with the ticking of beds, or ſuch kinds of plunder as they chanced to collect. They had no pay, and their ſupply of proviſions was quite uncertain; ſome days having beef and mutton in ſuch quantities, that they could not make uſe of it, but threw it about the fields, where it became putrid; at other times having ſcarcely any thing to eat. Women ſwarmed in their camp; and they had always ſpirituous liquors and muſic. All the blind fidlers and bagpipers in the county were with them; and they had drums and fifes, many of which they had found in the barracks of the North Cork militia. The weather in the month of June proved to be uncommonly warm and dry, or great numbers of this expoſed mob muſt have periſhed by diſorders. It was ſaid among them, and fooliſhly believed, that there would be no wet weather till they had conquered Ireland; and that the great drought was ordained by God to prevent their ſuffering in the open air. Still, as I have obſerved, on the firſt check at Roſs, parties began to fall off, which cauſed the following proclamation to be circulated through the county, and to be ſtuck up in the gaol.

" At a Meeting of the General and ſeveral Officers of the United Army of the county of Wexford, the following Reſolutions have been agreed upon:

" Reſolved,

" That the Commander in Chief ſhall ſend guards to certain baronies, for the purpoſe of bringing in all thoſe they ſhall find lurking and delaying at home, or elſewhere; and if any reſiſtance be given to thoſe guards ſo to be ſent by the Commanding Officer's orders, it is our deſire and orders, that ſuch perſons, ſo giving reſiſtance, ſhall be liable to be put to *death* by the guards, who are to bear a commiſſion for that purpoſe; and all ſuch perſons ſo to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, ſhall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and choſen from amongſt the commanders of all the different corps, and not depart therefrom, under pain of death, unleſs authoriſed to quit by written orders from the Commander in Chief for that purpoſe.

" It is alſo ordered, that a guard ſhall be kept at the rear of the different armies, with orders to ſhoot all perſons, who ſhall fly or deſert from any engagement; and that theſe orders be taken notice of by all officers commanding ſuch engagements.

" All men refuſing to obey their ſuperior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and puniſhed according to their ſentence.

" It is alſo ordered, that all men, who ſhall leave their reſpective quarters, when they have been halted by the Commander in Chief, ſhall ſuffer death, unleſs they have leave from their officers for ſo doing.

" It

" It is ordered by the Commander in Chief, that all perſons, who ſhall have ſtolen or taken away any horſes, ſhall immediately bring in ſuch horſes to the camp at head-quarters, otherwiſe any horſe, that ſhall be ſeen or found in the poſſeſſion of any perſon to whom he does not belong, ſhall, on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death; and any perſon, or perſons, who ſhall take upon them to *kill, or murder*, any perſon, or perſons, *burn any houſe*, or commit any plunder, *without ſpecial written orders from the Commander in Chief*, ſhall ſuffer death.

" By order of B. B. HARVEY, Commander in Chief.
" FRANCIS BRIEN, Sec. and Adj.

" *Head-Quarters, Carrick-Burne Camp, June 6*, 1798."

And on the morning of the next day, the following addreſs was likewiſe poſted up in the gaol.

" TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

" *Countrymen and Fellow Soldiers!*

" YOUR patriotic exertions in the cauſe of your country have hitherto exceeded your moſt ſanguine expectations, and in a ſhort time muſt ultimately be crowned with ſucceſs.—Liberty has raiſed her drooping head; thouſands daily flock to her ſtandard; the voice of her children every where prevails—let us then in a moment of triumph return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the univerſe, that a total ſtop may be put to thoſe ſanguinary meaſures, which of late were but too often reſorted to by the creatures of government to keep the people in ſlavery.

" Nothing now, my countrymen, appears neceſſary to ſecure the conqueſts you have ſo bravely

bravely won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for, through a want of proper ſubordination and diſcipline, all may be endangered.

" At this eventful period, all Europe muſt admire, and poſterity will read with aſtoniſhment, the heroic acts atchieved by people, ſtrangers to military tactics, and having few profeſſional commanders. But what power can reſiſt men fighting for liberty!

" In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarniſhed with any wanton act of cruelty. Many of thoſe unfortunate men, now in priſon, were not your enemies from principle; moſt of them, compelled by neceſſity, were obliged to oppoſe you. Neither let a difference in religious ſentiments cauſe a difference amongſt the people. Recur to the debates in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords of the nineteenth of February laſt: you will there ſee a patriotic and enlightened *Proteſtant Biſhop* (Down, and many of the lay Lords) with manly eloquence, pleading for Catholic emancipation, and parliamentary reform, in oppoſition to the haughty arguments of the Lord Chancellor, and the powerful oppoſition of his fellow courtiers.

" To promote a union of brotherhood and affection amongſt our countrymen of all religious perſuaſions, has been a principal object; we have ſworn in the moſt ſolemn manner, have aſſociated for this laudable purpoſe, and no power on earth ſhall ſhake our reſolution.

" To my *Proteſtant* ſoldiers I feel much indebted, for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited ſignal proofs of bravery in the cauſe.

EDWARD ROCHE."

Wexford, June 7, 1798.

Of

Of the neceſſity there was for their rulers recommending a ſpirit of moderation, ſuch as is expreſſed in ſome part of the foregoing proclamation, the reader will judge from the following circumſtances.—The day before the proclamation was iſſued, one hundred and ninety-nine Proteſtants had been ſhut up in a barn together at Scullabogue, about eleven miles from Wexford, and the barn was ſet on fire. Some of the miſerable ſufferers endeavoured to eſcape through a ſmall window in the ſide of the barn, but were received on the point of the rebel-pikes, and forced back into the flames. All of them thus periſhed. That the admonition produced no effect was proved, as the moſt dreadful cruelties and murders were committed in Wexford after this period.

I do not believe, that this cruel deed was in conſequence of an order from any of the rebel commanders, but was an act of the mob. On the contrary, from what I ſaw while I was in confinement, or could learn, I think myſelf bound to ſay, that it is my opinion, that ſuch of the rebel chiefs as had been in reſpectable ſituations, deteſted the ſyſtem of murder and robbery, which was as univerſally adopted by the upſtart officers and unruly mob, over whom they had little more than a nominal command. Let it then be a warning to men in high ſituations, how they tamper with, and bring into action, the turbulent diſpoſitions of bad men, and afford them an opportunity, as was here the caſe, of directing the paſſions, and working on the prejudices of low and ignorant people.

It may appear almoſt ridiculous to mention ſome inſtances of the extreme credulity and folly of the mob: but as the moſt terrible conſequences often proceeded from it, they become intereſting.

Colonel

Colonel Le Hunte, who is poſſeſſed of a large eſtate in the county of Wexford, has an elegant manſion at Atrammel, on the river Slaney, about four miles from Wexford. He was Colonel of a corps of yeoman cavalry, and near ſixty years of age. On the morning of the day the rebellion broke out, he was left with only eight proteſtants, who were his domeſtics or tenants, the reſt of his corps having deſerted to the rebels. When the town was taken, he, with his wife and daughter, ſought an aſylum in the houſe of Mrs. Parker, mother of Captain Parker, of the Royal Navy, who loſt his life gallantly fighting for his country. She lived in George's Street, and had not been much moleſted.—There Colonel Le Hunte was permitted to remain; but not till he and his family had been baptized in the Catholic chapel, after the Roman Catholic form.

About ten days before the King's troops arrived, Mrs. Dixon, (wife to the publican, who, as I have mentioned before, had been appointed captain by the rebels) went to the Colonel's houſe at Atrammel, to ſee the perſon who was then the inhabitant, and who had formerly been a ſervant-maid in the Colonel's family. This woman was now ſo certain of being left in poſſeſſion of the houſe, that, when Mrs. Le Hunte, a lady of the moſt amiable character, and who had been always remarkably generous and kind to her ſervants, went to beg ſome of her own linen, ſhe replied, "She had a great deal of im-"pudence to expect it; for what buſineſs had ſhe "there? Sure ſhe knew that neither the houſe, "or any thing in it, was any longer her pro-"perty." At laſt, ſhe yielded to the earneſt entreaties of Mrs. Le Hunte, ſo far as to conſent that ſhe ſhould take away a ſmall trunk, which contained

contained a few changes of linen, upon condition that ſhe never would come near the houſe again. Mrs. Le Hunte then begged that one of the horſes might be yoked to a cart, to carry the trunk to Wexford: but this was refuſed; and ſhe was obliged, with her own hands, aſſiſted by her daughter, a young lady of ſeventeen years of age, to put a mule to the cart, and to drive it themſelves to the town, to Mrs. Parker's, in George's Street.

During her viſit at Atrammel, Mrs. Dixon went into the drawing-room, in which there happened to be orange furniture, and two orange ſilk fire-ſcreens, painted with emblematical figures. She immediately ſpread the alarm, that ſhe had at laſt diſcovered where the Orange-men held their lodge, and had actually found their colours. The figure of Hope, leaning upon an anchor, ſhe ſaid ſignified their intention of burning the ſailors with red-hot anchors: Vulcan and the Cyclops ſhewed the manner in which little children were to be burned, and Juſtice, with her eyes blindfolded, was to ſignify, that, before they were burned, their eyes would be put out. This ſtrange explanation ſpread like wild-fire; and, in a ſhort time, the whole town of Wexford was alarmed, and the people went out in a body to meet Mrs. Dixon, who came riding upon a horſe, with the two fire-ſcreens borne before her. In this form, the mob roaring and ſhouting in the moſt horrid manner, they proceeded to Mrs. Parker's, where Colonel Le Hunte reſided. They inſtantly ſeized and dragged him into the ſtreet, and a thouſand voices at once cried out to have his blood. They ſtripped him of his coat and hat, and were hurrying him to the place of execution. At this critical moment, Father Broe, a Roman-Catholic

Catholic prieſt, appeared; and, forcing his way through the crowd, came up to the Colonel, and declared to thoſe neareſt to him, that he ſhould not be put to death till he had been taken to the gaol and tried. To this, by the moſt ſtrenuous exertions, he at laſt prevailed upon them to conſent. When the mob heard that he was carried to the gaol, they concluded that he was to be executed; and a party of them ran to the door of it, ſhouting as if they would rend the ſkies. Inſtantly the gaoler came, and locked us who were impriſoned all into our wards. We now thought that Roſs was taken by the rebels, that nothing could withſtand them, and that they were come to ſacrifice us. Their ſhouts became louder, and the knocking to be admitted more violent. I believe that, except the horrible tranſactions in France, ſuch a ſcene was never beheld. At one moment we might have been ſeen on our knees, with deadly horror in our countenances; at another, all flocking to a corner of the paſſage before the cells, determined to die together. The next moment we thought the oppoſite corner more ſecure; and, before we could reach it, we fled in confuſion, ſuppoſing the mob had broken in. Men of ſixty years of age were drowned in tears; ſome almoſt ſtupified.

The furious multitude had indeed got admiſſion into the large yard of the gaol, with their devoted victim, who was almoſt exhauſted. It was with the utmoſt difficulty the prieſt could prevent his being piked to death before he reached the gaol; and he had actually received two wounds in his back from their pikes, while on his way, though they had not entered far enough to do him much injury. When he came into the yard, they placed him againſt the wall, telling him

him to prepare his ſoul, as he had but five minutes to live; and one of them took out a watch, to ſee when the time would be expired. Father Broe, ſeeing nothing elſe could ſave him, advanced, and threw his arms about him, and told them to fire as ſoon as they choſe it. This had the deſired effect, upon Mr. Broe aſſuring them, that, if they would leave him till the next morning in the gaol, and then try him, if he was really guilty, he would no more interfere. This being ſettled, the Colonel was put into a place called the Condemned Cell, which is a ſtone vault, with iron doors, and no light but what comes through another cell. Here he was left by himſelf, without ſtraw to lie upon, or any thing elſe in the cell, except a quantity of old iron bolts, which had been made for criminals who had been executed. He had not been here long, when a wretch, of the name of White, who had, before the rebellion, been committed to gaol for robbery, but, with the reſt of the criminals, was releaſed by the rebels, at the time they obtained poſſeſſion of the town, came to him, and ſaid, "Le Hunte, are "you a Chriſtian?"* To which the Colonel returned no anſwer. The next day he was tried on the charge of the fire-ſcreens, and was acquitted; but was ſentenced to remain in gaol, where he continued till the King's troops arrived. At the time he was ſeized, Mrs. Parker and the Colonel's family eſcaped from her houſe through a back-window, and did not return to it till the town was re-taken.

So dreadful were my reflections at times while I was in the gaol, and the horror of my mind ſo

* This thief, being an united Irishman, was thus commencing their string of interrogatories, as given before.—See p. 20.

great,

great, from apprehenſions for my wife and child, and the conſtant expectation of being taken out and cruelly murdered, as to produce the moſt ſettled deſpair. This roſe to ſuch a pitch, that, one day, in conjunction with a fellow-ſufferer, after we had conſulted together as to the eaſieſt mode of putting an end to our miſeries, we agreed to bleed ourſelves to death by opening a vein, and ſharpened a knife upon a ſtone for that purpoſe. We knelt down to pray before we committed the act, when it pleaſed God that our minds became ſoftened, and we felt a ray of hope, which prevented us from completing our criminal and horrid purpoſe.

I cannot forbear to add a few inſtances of brutality, which one could hardly expect but from a Robeſpierre. My wife had been able to procure a bottle of tea and a bit of mutton from a female acquaintance, to take to the gaol, in hopes of conveying it to me. When the rebel-guard at the door underſtood it was intended for me, they broke the bottle, and took away the meat.

A few days afterwards, my wife, with the child in her arms, came to the gaol-door, and begged in the moſt earneſt manner to be admitted to ſee me. One, more compaſſionate than the reſt, came and called me out, telling me I ſhould ſee my wife and child. I flew towards them for a laſt look, and to deſire my wife, after my death, to come to London to my mother: but, juſt as I got to the end of the paſſage, and ſaw them ſtanding at the door, ſome of the infernal wretches pointed their pikes at me, and ſwore horribly, that, if I advanced a ſtep farther, they would run me through.—What my ſenſations were, on being forced back, may be eaſily conceived!

Another day my wife went to the houſe of Dr.

Dr. Jacob, to requeſt him to inform her what he thought would be the fate of the priſoners. On coming out again with the child in her arms, ſhe was met by one of the rebels, who had a muſket in his hand. He aſked her, for what purpoſe ſhe had been to Dr. Jacob?—She anſwered, to beg him, if he could, to protect her. He replied, that ſhe lied, that ſhe had been to ſpeak about her huſband; and, pointing the muſket at her, ſwore he would have her life. Some women who were preſent caught hold of his arm, and bid him not ſet his wit againſt a woman. He anſwered, that, if ever he met her again, he would have her life and that of the child. From that time, when obliged to go out, ſhe always left the child by itſelf, and borrowed an old cloak to diſguiſe herſelf.

The next proclamation was iſſued on the 9th day of June, of which the following is a copy:

" PROCLAMATION

" *Of the People of the County of Wexford.*

" Whereas it ſtands manifeſtly notorious that " JAMES BOYD, HAWTRY WHITE, HUNTER GOWRAN, and ARCHIBALD HAMILTON JACOB, late " Magiſtrates of this county, have committed " the moſt horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and " oppreſſion, againſt our peaceable and well-affected countrymen: Now WE, THE PEOPLE, " aſſociated and united for the purpoſe of procuring our juſt rights, and being determined " to protect the perſons and properties of thoſe " of all religious perſuaſions who have not oppreſſed us, and are willing with heart and hand " to join our glorious cauſe, as well as to ſhew " our marked diſapprobation and horror of the

" crimes of the above delinquents, do call on " our countrymen at large to uſe every exertion " in their power to apprehend the bodies of the " aforeſaid JAMES BOYD, &c. &c. &c. and to " ſecure and convey them to the gaol of Wex- " ford, to be brought before the TRIBUNAL OF " THE PEOPLE. Done at Wexford, this 9th day " of June, 1798.

" GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE."

The perſons mentioned in this proclamation were gentlemen of moſt reſpectable characters. Mr. Boyd was captain of the Wexford cavalry, and member of Parliament for that town; and had always been diſtinguiſhed as a good commander and an active Magiſtrate. Mr. Gowran was alſo a Juſtice of the peace, and reſided on the borders of the county, where he acted in his magiſterial capacity with ſuch vigilance, as to be looked up to as a protector of all good men, and was in an equal degree dreaded by the profligate. Mr. Jacob was chief magiſtrate of Enniſcorthy, and captain of the Enniſcorthy yeoman-cavalry, and was univerſally reſpected for his upright conduct. Mr. White was alſo a Magiſtrate, and captain of a corps of yeoman-cavalry in the interior part of the county. He had been remarkably active in endeavouring to bring back the poor deluded people to a ſenſe of their duty, by ſhewing them the folly and danger of rebellious proceedings. Indeed I may add, that to him it may be aſcribed, that the rebellion did not become more general. The grounds I have for this aſſertion are as follows.—A clergyman of the church of England, of the name of Owen, at the time the town of Gorey was taken by the rebels, became their priſoner. They put on his head a

cap

cap filled with pitch and Spaniſh flies, ſtripped him of his clothes, and, after covering him with the rags of a labourer, forced him to ſhew his head at a window, for the amuſement of the mob, who were called upon to look at *the Devil*. They afterwards obliged him, with thirteen other perſons, to walk bare-footed from Gorey to Wexford, which is twenty-four miles, on as hot a day as I can remember; and when he occaſionally halted, from extreme pain, cauſed by his tender feet being cut by the gravel, the rebels would prick him with their pikes to urge him forward. In this miſerable condition, he and his diſtreſſed comrades were brought up to the gaol of Wexford. The day after, a very genteel man, who appeared to be one of the rebel-officers, (I have forgot his name) came into the gaol-yard, and called for Mr. Owen, and expreſſed much concern on ſeeing him in that ſituation; and aſſured him, that, had he been with the party, Mr. Owen ſhould not have ſuffered as he had done; that he might ſend for his family, and order any thing he ſtood in need of, which they could ſupply him with. He then began a diſcourſe relative to the rebellion. He told Mr. Owen, that, in fact, it had broke out too ſoon by two months; that the other counties were not in ſo forward a ſtate of preparation as was intended;* and that, in the

* As a proof of this, some days before the arrival of the King's troops, an order came from the rebels in the county of Kilkenny, for six thousand pikes and pike-handles, to be made in Wexford, for their use. To expedite this business, Thomas Richards, a protestant blacksmith, was taken out of the gaol to which he had been committed, and set to work, to assist in completing this order; and the timber for the pike-handles was on the saw-pits at the time the King's troops entered Wexford. Benches for the carpenters to work at were placed round

county of Wexford, the inſurgents would not have riſen at the time they did, had not the exertions of the magiſtrates, and particularly Mr. Hawtry White, rendered it neceſſary for them to declare their purpoſe. That, a few days before they appeared in a hoſtile form, Mr. H. White ſent for him, and informed him, that it was well known that he belonged to the United Iriſhmen, and had great influence among thoſe of the county of Wexford; and added, that, if he did not, within three days, deliver up, or cauſe to be delivered up, the arms that were concealed among the country-people, he ſhould certainly be committed to gaol.—" I then," ſaid the gentleman, " knew it was either death or liberty. I choſe " glorious liberty; and the iſſue you well know." From this it appears, that the vigilance and the exertions, which by ſome have been moſt unjuſtly called rigour, ſaved Ireland from as dreadful anarchy as ever nation groaned under. The multitudes which were collected in the diſtrict of Wexford will enable us to judge of the numbers which might have been brought forth in other counties; and, perhaps, if more time had been given them, they would have been better diſciplined. In ſhort, it is very probable, if the rebellion had been poſtponed a few months, Ireland would have been loſt. Four better magiſtrates, and, I believe, better men, than Meſſrs. Boyd, Gowran, Jacob, and White, could not be found in the country; and their ſervices to the public on this occaſion will, I truſt, never be forgotten by thoſe who reſpect peace, order, and ſecurity, and are attached to their King and Conſtitution.

the bull-ring, which is a ſort of ſquare, that it might be ſeen the workmen did not lose any time.

Whatever

Whatever might have been the real views of the politicians, whose harangues and writings tended to produce this dreadful rebellion, which professedly they denominated reform, toleration, &c. the very reverse would have been the effect of it. The intolerant prejudices of the Catholics, it was soon proved, had no bounds. The extinction of the Protestant religion was the favourite idea of the great mass of the rebels, and their strongest motive to action. Reform was never thought of by them, nothing less than breaking off all connection with England*, and a total change of the established government in Ireland; and even an expectation of being able to attack England as an enemy, was warmly encouraged by them. So far from toleration in religious matters being allowed, Mr. Bagenall Harvey, and their other Protestant leaders, thought it prudent to attend mass in their camps.

In the town of Wexford, Protestant men and women were obliged to recant; and, with their children, were required to be baptized in the Catholic chapel, after the Roman-Catholic manner, and to attend mass. Even the protection, granted by the priests to the Protestant men and women, after they had been thus baptized, was, "Protect, "in the name of Jesus Christ, A. B. he or she

* It appeared on one of the late trials for High Treason in Dublin, that, on the 19th of February, 1799, (the night when the Earl of Moira made a motion, in the House of Lords in Ireland, to recommend conciliatory measures) it was resolved by the principal Committee of United Irishmen in Dublin, "that they would not acquiesce in any reform, short of a total change of Government, and a separation from England." And since the first edition of this Narrative, this has been further confirmed by the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons of Ireland; of which an abstract has been given in all the newspapers.

" having been made a Chriſtian, and a member " of the Catholic church." (Signed by the prieſt.) But here I muſt, in juſtice to many excellent prieſts, make a diſtinction between them and ſuch others as fomented the diſturbances. It was not by deſire of the prieſts of the town of Wexford, that the Proteſtants were forced to yield to this neceſſity; but it was owing to the ferocity of the mob, who could not bear the name of a Proteſtant. The conduct of the Roman-Catholic clergy of Wexford cannot be too much commended. Dr. Caulfield, the titular Biſhop of Leighlin and Ferns, Father Curran, Father Broe, and indeed the whole of the prieſts and friars of that town, on all occaſions uſed their intereſt and exerted their abilities in the cauſe of humanity. Every Sunday, after maſs, they addreſſed their audience, and implored them, in the moſt earneſt manner, not to ill-treat their priſoners, and not to have upon their conſciences the reflection of having ſhed innocent blood. When they heard of executions going forward, they flew to the ſpot, and by every intreaty endeavoured to reſcue the victims from deſtruction. Sometimes they ſucceeded; and, when they failed, they ſhewed ſufficiently how ſenſibly they felt for the unhappy perſons they could not ſave. The gallant Lord Kingſborough owed his life to the reſolute interpoſition of the Catholic Biſhop. His Lordſhip, on hearing of the diſturbances, had left Dublin, with a view of joining his regiment, the North Cork militia. Not knowing the town of Wexford was taken, he was proceeding towards it, with two of his officers, in a ſmall ſloop; but, at a ſhort diſtance from the harbour, the veſſel was attacked by ſeveral armed boats belonging to the rebels. His Lordſhip, with his uſual courage,

courage, endeavoured to defend himſelf; but was overpowered by numbers; and, with his two officers, Captain Burke, and Captain Hay, the ſecond day after the town was taken, was brought into Wexford, and they were confined together at a public houſe, the corner of the bull-ring, and a ſtrong guard placed over them. Lord Kingſborough was univerſally beloved by all the officers and privates of his regiment, being more the father than the commander of his men. He had, with princely munificence, built ſeveral neat alms-houſes at Michelſtown, near which he has a country-ſeat, (about thirty miles from Cork) for the accommodation of gentlemen and ladies in decayed circumſtances, with the addition of a garden, and thirty pounds a year to each. His Lordſhip is in perſon a very fine man, and his manners are ſo free and diveſted of pride, that he was the delight of the people. Yet the excellent character he had borne did not now avail him any thing; and this nobleman, who a few days before appeared to be almoſt at the ſummit of earthly happiness, having fallen into the hands of theſe mad and wicked reformers of the ſtate, was by them confined in a dram-ſhop, ſurrounded by ruffian guards, denied any intercourſe with his friends, and in hourly expectation of being maſſacred. It this trying ſituation, his Lordſhip conducted himſelf with his uſual fortitude and magnanimity.

After a few days, the gaol was ſo crowded, that no room was left for the proteſtant priſoners, who were daily brought in from different parts of the country. The rebels then fitted up two large ſloops, as priſon-ſhips, and put at the bottom a quantity of ſtraw, and gratings over the hatch-

ways. Theſe veſſels were taken through the bridge of Wexford, (which is a draw-bridge) unrigged, and were moored in the middle of the river. A number of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen of the county, who were priſoners, were then put on board, and, with them, Lord Kingsborough and his officers: but he had not been long in this ſituation, before he was ſo beſet with rats, that he was neceſſitated to ſend to Captain Keughe, then the rebel-governor of the town, and in the moſt earneſt manner intreat to be removed to another place, were it ever ſo mean. This requeſt was complied with; and his Lordſhip, with his officers, under a ſtrong guard of pike-men, was taken back to his old lodgings at the dram-ſhop. Several times did detachments come down from the rebel-camp to demand his life; and, the day before the town was taken by the King's troops, which was the time fixed upon for a general maſſacre of all the priſoners, a party came to his Lordſhip's lodgings to demand his body: but the guards, who were chiefly townſmen, and, generally ſpeaking, leſs blood-thirſty than the country-people, reſiſted. While this altercation continued, the Catholic Biſhop Caulfield arrived; and, finding that all the arguments he could uſe had no effect, he ruſhed through the crowd, and, forcing into the room where his Lordſhip was, he placed himſelf before him, and told the rebels, if they choſe to fire, they might; but, if they would murder his Lordſhip, it ſhould not be before they had killed him. This threat had the deſired effect: the rebels went away, leaving Lord Kingſborough and the Biſhop together.

I wiſh I could with truth ſpeak as favourably of

of other deſcriptions of the Catholic prieſts, as I am bound to do of thoſe of the town of Wexford: but greater monſters of iniquity than ſome of the country prieſts I believe never exiſted. Every deception, that could influence the minds of the infatuated people, was practiſed by them. It will hardly be credited in this country, that thouſands of the Iriſh are in ſuch a ſtate of ignorance, as eaſily to believe the moſt extravagant reports and deluſions. At the battle of Three Rocks, before the town of Wexford was taken by the rebels, a prieſt of the name of Murphy marched at their head, telling them to follow him, and not to fear; for if they took up the duſt from the roads, and threw it at the King's troops, they would fall dead before them. The rebel camps were conſtantly attended by numbers of theſe prieſts, ſaying maſs every day; and pretending to give charms, which would prevent the balls of the ſoldiers from injuring them. To this cauſe principally may be attributed the undaunted manner in which the rebels often faced the cannon. You might ſee hundreds of them with cords round their waiſts, on which were ſeven knots, which, they were perſuaded to believe, would effectually preſerve them in the day of battle. That no compunction might riſe in their breaſts, on account of the murders they were daily committing, their prieſts aſſured them, it was ordained by God; and that it had been propheſied, there ſhould be but one religion, and that was to be the Roman Catholic: ſo that in deſtroying the Proteſtants, they were performing a duty to heaven. It may here be aſked, Were there no Proteſtants among the rebels? I anſwer, Some few Proteſtants there were; and they found it neceſſary to aſſent, and to accommodate themſelves to the humours, the

the prejudices, the vices and cruelties of the mob of Catholics; and by that means prevented diſunion.

The favourite hope of the rebels, as I have before obſerved, was, that they ſhould be able to eſtabliſh the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, and exclude every other mode of worſhip. Liberty and Equality were alſo their conſtant theme: yet ſuch were the indiſtinct notions of the lower orders of the people, that they often talked of having Lord Edward Fitzgerald for their King. The French they looked to for certain aſſiſtance; and confidently believed fifty ſail of the line, and a large army, would be ſent from France to ſupport them. One of them, who appeared to be a man much more improved than the generality of them, told me, that four years ago delegates from France had been in Ireland; but perceiving that the lower orders of the people ſhewed no ſymptoms of deſire for a change of government, they reported their opinions to the French Rulers, who ſuſpended their intention of invading that country: but about two years ago, the United Iriſhmen had ſent to France ſuch information as induced them to ſend over two delegates to Ireland, who then found the minds of the people in a very different ſtate, from the exertions of that body of traitors*.

I ſhall conclude this part of my narrative with mentioning, that Mr. Bagenall Harvey came to the gaol twice only during my confinement there. The laſt time he was accompanied by a couſin of his, of the name of Lett, a boy not more than eleven years of age; but he bore the commiſſion

* These circumstances also have been confirmed by the Report of the Secret Committee already mentioned.

of

of a captain of the rebels. Mr. Harvey ſpoke to ſome of the gentlemen, who were confined; and then went away: two days after which (the Saturday before the town was re-taken) we heard he had reſigned the command of the rebels, and was gone nobody knew where.

General Roche I never ſaw after he gave the alarm on the bridge of Vinegar Hill being attacked: to which myſelf and two others out of ninety-eight, who were carried there to be murdered, owed our lives. The other ninety-five, as I have already mentioned, were all maſſacred.

I ſhall now continue my journal, and give ſome account of the proceedings after his Majeſty's troops took poſſeſſion of Wexford, which was on Thurſday, June 21.

On Friday, June 22, ſeveral of his Majeſty's gun-boats and cutters (there not being ſufficient depth of water for larger veſſels) arrived for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the military, in caſe of reſiſtance from the town. They towed out the two veſſels, which had been converted into priſons, and burnt them; and another ſloop belonging to the captain who took Lord Kingſborough priſoner.

We had once more the heart-felt ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Engliſh jack triumphant over the rebel *white* flag.

General Lake publiſhed a proclamation, aſſuring all ſuch as would come forward and deliver up their arms, that they ſhould find mercy and protection. He alſo iſſued general orders, that no perſon ſhould be put to death, unleſs he had been tried and condemned by a court-martial. He alſo forbad any inhabitant or other perſon being moleſted, with ſtrict orders, that no ſoldier ſhould be

be allowed to take away any article from any perſon, without paying for it.

Two men were this day hanged, but their names I do not know.

The diſtreſs of the town, from want of proviſions, will readily be ſuppoſed. After having been in the poſſeſſion of thouſands of lawleſs banditti for three weeks, little could be left. Fortunately on Sunday morning, June 24, near a hundred baſkets of bread arrived from Dublin; part of which General Lake ordered to be carried to the bakers, to be delivered by them at the Dublin prices; which proved a very ſeaſonable relief to the inhabitants.

This day a man, dreſſed in woman's clothes, came into the town as a ſpy. His name was M'Guire. He was by trade a nailer: and had ſome time before been in gaol for treaſonable practices. Being diſcovered, he was immediately executed at the bridge.

The court-martials for the trials of the priſoners alſo began this day. Captain Keughe, who had been rebel-governor of the town, was convicted. It may ſeem ſtrange, that he, who had been in ſo conſpicuous a ſituation, ſhould not have made his eſcape when the King's troops approached towards the town: but he expected to have ſecured his ſafety by negociation, as appears from the following propoſal, which he tranſmitted to General Lake.

" That Captain M'Manus* ſhall proceed from

* Captain M'Manus was an officer of the Antrim militia; and had been confined in Wexford gaol by the rebels. Mr. E. Hay was Captain in the North Cork militia; and was under confinement with Lord Kingsborough. It was ſuppoſed by Captain Keughe, that an application through theſe officers would have better effect.

Wexford

Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious perſuaſions, to inform the officer commanding the King's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without oppoſition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their perſons and properties are guarantied by the commanding officer; and that they will uſe every influence in their power, to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance alſo. Theſe terms we hope Captain M'Manus will be able to procure.

(Signed)
" By order of the inhabitants of Wexford,
" MATT. KEUGHE.

Lieutenant-General Lake, made the following anſwer to Mr. Keughe's propoſals:

" Lieutenant-General Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by *rebels* in arms againſt their Sovereign: while they continue ſo, he muſt uſe the force entruſted to him with the utmoſt energy for their deſtruction.

" To the deluded multitude he promiſes pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, ſurrendering their arms, and returning with ſincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed)
" G. LAKE."

Enniscorthy, June 22, 1798.

Eight other rebels were convicted on the ſame day that Captain Keughe was found guilty. One of theſe was Father Roche, a prieſt, who had peculiarly diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the rebels, by his example, in leading them on to battle by religious

religious exhortations, and by his aſſurances of the certain effects of thoſe conſecrated charms, which, if they wore them in the face of their enemies, he ſaid, would protect them from danger. They were all ſentenced to be hanged the next day at eleven o'clock, at the bridge where the Proteſtants had been ſo cruelly murdered.

In the courſe of this day a conſiderable number of rebels were taken up, and committed to the gaol.

Monday, June 25. Captain Keughe, Father Roche, and the ſeven other convicted rebels, were brought to the bridge of Wexford at eleven o'clock, according to the ſentence paſſed on them. The crowd aſſembled was very great; which I mention, as I wiſh to remark how different the conduct of the ſpectators on this melancholy occaſion was, when compared with the licentious and inhuman fury of that mob, which ſurrounded and witneſſed the maſſacre of the Proteſtants. Thoſe victims, while on their way to execution, were deafened by the exultations, and oppreſſed by the inſults of the ſavage-minded men and women, who in droves preſſed upon them on all ſides. What a reverſe did the preſent ſcene exhibit! Recent as were the injuries which had been ſuſtained by thoſe, who were now liberated from priſon, and inflamed as the minds of the various ſufferers by the rebellion may be ſuppoſed to have been, yet not a reflection was caſt by them upon any of the convicts, nor a geſture ſeen, that could diſturb them at this awful moment. The ſentiment, which produced ſuch decorum at ſuch a time, evidently proceeded from the temperate and humane manner in which the law was put in force by the Commander in Chief, even againſt

againſt thoſe rebels, whoſe conduct had been moſt flagitious.

Captain Keughe made a ſpeech of ſome length, which, as I was not near him, I could not hear. I was informed it chiefly tended to exculpate him from the ignominy of being ſuppoſed to have taken any part in thoſe cruelties, which had been committed by the rebels; which, on the contrary, he ſaid, he had always uſed his utmoſt exertions to prevent. He deſired that the Rev. Mr. Elgee, the Proteſtant miniſter, might be ſent for; which requeſt was immediately granted. With him Captain Keughe continued ſome time in prayer. He was then executed: and, after having hung about a quarter of an hour, was cut down, and the head ſeparated from the body; which was caſt into the river, in the ſame place where the bodies of the murdered Proteſtants had been thrown. His head was fixed on a pike, and placed upon the court-houſe.

Happily, ſuch is the horror which every human being, that is not in the moſt depraved ſtate, has of cruelty and murder, that anxiety to wipe away the ſtain of ſuch a reproach is commonly obſerved to operate upon men in their laſt moments. Thus it was with Mr. Keughe, and to a certain degree I give him credit: but this I muſt ſay, that on the day when I, with the other two Proteſtants, was called out, and forced to execute Murphy, as the proceſſion paſſed by the cuſtom-houſe, I obſerved Captain Keughe on the quay, with a great number of pike-men formed in a line. When we paſſed him, he ſaluted the guard, after the military manner. As I knew him well before the rebellion, from his having been accuſtomed to call upon me at my ſhop, I did all in my power, by geſtures, to attract his attention, and

and move his compaſſion; but without effect: he would not look at me. Thus, if he did not perpetrate, he aſſented to the horrid murders, which were committed; which renders his juſtification doubtful.

Father Roche, the Roman Catholic prieſt, who was executed with Captain Keughe, was brother to General Roche. He was a man of uncommon ſtature; and was ſo heavy, that the firſt rope, by which he was ſuſpended, broke. Another was immediately procured. I have before related ſome particulars of his conduct among the rebels.

At the ſame time a man of the name of John Heron was executed. He was a grocer in the town of Wexford; and had a ſhop directly oppoſite to mine. He was made a lieutenant by the rebels; and accompanied Edward Fraine, the tanner, in that capacity, the morning I was appointed to ſhoot Murphy*. When Fraine informed

* To prevent any mistakes on account of the names being similar, I wish it to be understood, that there were two men of the name of *Murphy*, whom a select number of Protestant prisoners were compelled by the rebels to execute. The man I have mentioned above, who, it was decreed by the rebels, should be executed by Gurly, Matthews, and myself; and another man of the same name, who was shot by Mr. Robinson, Mr. Daniel, and Mr. Pigott: all of them gentlemen of excellent characters, who had appointments in the revenue.—The other Murphy was condemned by the rebels for having given evidence against a Roman Catholic priest, one Dixon, who had endeavoured to seduce him to take the oath of the United Irishmen, when he came to him to confession. The priest was found guilty, and sent to serve in his Majesty's fleets. This Murphy had been gardener to Mr. Edwards of Ballahire, in the county of Wexford. After the above gentlemen had shot him, they were forced to drag his dead body to the water-side, and throw it in. These were the only Roman Catholics that were put to death by the rebels; and both

informed me that I was to be employed on this dreadful ſervice, I went up to Mr. Heron, hoping that, as we had always been on friendly terms, he would intercede for me; but he refuſed.

Tuesday, *June* 26. This day Edward Fraine was tried. On his trial, among many circumſtances, by which his guilt was proved in the cleareſt manner, evidence was given, that one morning, he being in the gaol, a priſoner applied to him for ſomething to eat, and was anſwered by Fraine, "That if he wanted a breakfaſt, he ſhould have a belly full of pikes." The priſoner, who applied, was Mr. Lakey, a gentleman in the revenue. Fraine admitted the charges brought againſt him; and was condemned to be executed within an hour: but having petitioned for more time to ſettle his affairs, he was allowed till eleven o'clock the next morning. He was then executed at the bridge. He was a handſome young man, about twenty-five years of age; and had not long been married.

This afternoon information was received, that Mr. Beauchamp, Bagenall Harvey, and Mr. Colclough, had been diſcovered in a cave in the Saltee Iſlands, about a league and a half from Wexford. A company of the Queen's Royals, or ſecond regiment of foot, was immediately diſpatched in a King's cutter to apprehend them.

The trial of Mr. Cornelius Grogan alſo commenced this afternoon, which laſted ſeveral hours. He endeavoured to prove that he was forced into

both of them ſuffered for having given evidence againſt them. I may here remind the reader, that Mr. Robinſon and Mr. Daniel were both piked on the bridge. Mr. Pigott had the good fortune to be releaſed from priſon by the King's troops; and I am informed he continues to reſide in Wexford.

the rebel ſervice; but he was clearly convicted of having taken a buſy part in it; and acted as commiſſary to the rebel army. I was not preſent at his trial; and can give no farther account of it, only that, at his requeſt, it was adjourned till the next morning, as he ſaid he ſhould then be able to produce witneſſes to prove that he had not wilfully joined the rebels.

Wednesday, *June* 27. The adjourned trial of Mr. Grogan recommenced, and laſted four hours (in the whole nine hours,) when he was found guilty.

A party, conſiſting of a ſerjeant's guard, belonging to the twenty-ninth regiment, was now ordered to march to the quay to receive Mr. Bagenall Harvey and Mr. Colclough, who had been taken priſoners in the Saltee Iſlands; and about three o'clock this afteroon they arrived. Great numbers of officers, belonging to the different corps now in the town, had aſſembled on the quay to ſee men who had become ſo notorious.

On their landing, Mr. Harvey appeared to be very much dejected; and ſcarcely ſpoke to any one. Mr. Colclough, on the contrary, ſeemed to be in very good ſpirits. On hearing many perſons inquiring which was Mr. Harvey, and which Mr. Colclough? he pulled off his hat, and, bowing in the moſt polite manner, ſaid, "Gentlemen, my name is Colclough." They were then both taken to the gaol. Some of the ſoldiers, who had been of the party ſent to the Saltee Iſlands to apprehend Mr. Harvey and Mr. Colclough, informed me, that, when they came to the iſland, they found but one houſe upon it, in which lived an old man and his family; that, upon their landing, they heard ſomebody holla, as if to give warning

warning to others; and they then ſaw the old man run acroſs a field into his houſe.——The ſoldiers followed him, and endeavoured by every entreaty to prevail upon him to diſcover to them the place where the fugitives were concealed; but without effect. Finding they could obtain no intelligence by this mode of addreſs, and having certain information, that the perſons they ſought for were there, they tied him up, and gave him two dozen laſhes; when he acknowledged that Mr. Colclough and Mr. Harvey were in a cave in a rock cloſe to the ſea-ſide. He then conducted the ſoldiers to the other ſide of the iſland, where they found the cave; but it was ſo ſituated, that it was impoſſible to approach the fugitives without a great deal of trouble and danger. It was then thought moſt prudent to call to Mr. Harvey, who making no anſwer, the commander of the party told thoſe within, that all reſiſtance was vain; that he had a large body of men with him, and ſhould immediately order them to fire into the cave, if thoſe who were concealed there did not come out. On this Mr. Colclough appeared; and both he and Mr. Harvey ſurrendered themſelves. The ſoldiers were of opinion, that, if he had defended himſelf, by firing through the chinks of the rocks, he might have killed ſeveral of them, before they could poſſibly have ſhot at him with any effect. When he was taken, he had an old muſket, a pocket-piſtol, and two cutlaſſes. Mrs. Colclough was with them. There was a very neat feather-bed, blanket, and ſheets, in the cave, and a keg of Whiſkey; alſo a jar of wine, a tub of butter, and ſome biſcuits; a large pound-cake, that weighed above twenty-pounds; a live ſheep, and a crock of pickled pork; alſo tea, ſugar, &c. The cheſts of plate were alſo

found near the cave. Theſe were brought in the boat to town, and placed under the care of a magiſtrate. Mrs. Colclough was not brought to Wexford with her huſband and Mr. Harvey.

In the evening the trial of Mr. Harvey commenced; and notwithſtanding the notoriety of his guilt, ſuch were the candour and forbearance of the court-martial, that his trial laſted eight hours; when he was found guilty.

THURSDAY, *June* 28. This morning, about ten o'clock, Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Grogan, and a Mr. Prendergaſt, a very rich merchant, were brought to the place of execution on the bridge. When they arrived at the fatal ſpot, Mr. Harvey, in a very low tone of voice, ſpoke to the gentlemen who ſtood round him. He declared, that, if he had had the leaſt idea that ſuch enormities and murders would have been committed upon the Proteſtants as had been, he would have had no concern in the buſineſs. He ſeemed to be very penitent, and was very loath to die, endeavouring all he could to delay the execution. Mr. Grogan aſked Mr. Harvey, if he had not been forced to join the rebels? To which Mr. Harvey anſwered, Yes. (This I did not hear; but a perſon, who ſtood nearer to them than I, aſſured me of it.) Mr. Grogan at this moment expreſſed a deſire to ſee his brother, Colonel John Grogan, who accordingly came to him. They took each other by the hand, and bid a laſt farewell. The priſoners then knelt down, and prayed a few minutes; and were then launched into eternity. After they had hung about ten minutes, they were taken down; and the heads of Mr. Harvey and Mr. Grogan were cut off: after which, the three bodies were thrown into the river. The heads of Mr. Harvey and Mr. Grogan were fixed on each

each ſide of that of Captain Keughe, on the top of the court-houſe.

I ſhall now haſten to conclude my narrative; for were I to relate all the inſtances of hardſhips, of the ſevereſt kind, ſuffered by the moſt reſpectable individuals, they would almoſt fill a volume. I have been aſſured from undoubted authority, that when the rebels got poſſeſſion of the town of Wexford, Mrs. Ogle, (wife of the Right Hon. George Ogle, many years member for the county,) and her ſiſter, Miſs More, like many others, got on board a veſſel lying in the harbour, with the hope of eſcaping by ſea; but they had not been long on board, before the veſſel was attacked and boarded by one of the armed boats belonging to the rebels. The ruffians, when they ſeized them, treated them, and many other ladies with them, with the greateſt inſolence and brutality, threatening to put all the men on board immediately to death; which ſo terrified one young woman, that ſhe leaped into the ſea, ſaying, ſhe would not live to ſee her huſband murdered. After all the ladies on board were brought back to Wexford, they were confined *(four and twenty* in number) in a ſmall room, where they remained for above three week, without any thing to lie upon but ſtraw, and without having it in their power in all that time to take off their clothes. During the whole time of their confinement, from which they were releaſed by the King's troops retaking the town, the only allowance of food for theſe twenty-four ladies was an ox's head, and four pounds of tripe, with a ſmall portion of bread, which was to ſerve them for two days.

Having been informed, that a veſſel was preparing to ſail for England, with diſpatches from General Lake to Government, I made all the in-

tereſt I could to obtain a paſſage in her: and the hardſhips and dangers I had ſuffered were deſcribed to Captain Keen, of the Royal Navy, in ſuch a manner, that he conſented to give me a paſſage, if I could obtain a paſſport from General Lake. This I applied for; and a paſſport was immediately granted me: a copy of which I have prefixed to this narrative. The ecſtaſy I felt, on being permitted to quit a country in which I had ſo long lived in a ſtate of dreadful apprehenſion, I ſhall never be able to expreſs: it ſeemed almoſt to deprive me of my ſenſes. How ſweet was the name of England at that moment!

Before I went on board the veſſel, I ſaw Mr. Colclough, who had been tried and convicted, brought by himſelf to the place of execution at the bridge, between five and ſix o'clock this evening. As ſoon as he came to the foot of the gallows, he addreſſed the ſpectators, with a firm and diſtinct voice, and without the leaſt change of countenance, nearly as follows: "Gentlemen, I am now come to that time, which is the moſt awful that man can experience. Thank God, I am not afraid to die! I can ſmile at the gallows, and at the rope with which I am to be executed! I wiſh to feel if it be ſtrong enough." [He took hold of the rope, and proceeded.] "I ſhall thank you, gentlemen, for a little water, as I deſire to drink a toaſt before I die." [Some water was immediately brought him; and he took the mug in his hand.] "Here" ſaid he, "is ſucceſs to the King and Conſtitution, and I hope my fate will be a warning to all mankind not to attempt to interfere with the order of government, or to diſturb the peace of their country. As I ſhall anſwer it to God before whom I muſt ſhortly appear," [here he laid his hand upon his breaſt] "I declare that I did

I did not know of the rebellion breaking out till within three hours of the time when arms were taken up. But I acknowledge the juſtice of my ſentence: for, about three years ago I was one of the principal abettors in this buſineſs. I have now, gentlemen, only one favour to aſk of you, which is, that you will not take off my coat and waiſtcoat, as I have only an old borrowed ſhirt under them, and I wiſh to appear decently before the people." [All the other criminals, it ſhould be obſerved, were ſtripped to their ſhirts before their execution.]

He then knelt down, and prayed a few minutes; after which he was drawn up: and I quitted the ſpot while he was ſuſpended.

The perſons, whom I have already mentioned, and two others, were all that were executed while I remained in Wexford. Meſſrs. Harvey, Keughe, and Grogan, were Proteſtants. Mr. Colclough was of a very reſpectable family; and poſſeſſed conſiderable property in the county of Wexford: and was very much eſteemed by all who knew him, as a worthy and ingenious man.

In the evening of the 28th of June, I, with my wife and child, went on board the ſloop; and, after a paſſage of two days and two nights, during which we were toſſed about by contrary winds, we were ſafely landed at Milford, in South Wales, having no other clothes than thoſe we then wore, and not a ſhilling in our pockets: but, to the everlaſting honour of the inhabitants of that place, we were no ſooner put on ſhore, and our caſe known, than each of them ſtrove who ſhould firſt render us aſſiſtance. A guinea was inſtantly gathered for us among the bye-ſtanders, and our other wants were immediately ſupplied.—The next day, a recommendation, by the Iriſh refugees

from Wexford, was written for me to the Committee at Haverfordweſt, from whom I received ten guineas to carry me and my family to London; and it was not to us only that this bounty was extended, but to every other perſon, who had ſuffered by the rebellion, that applied to them. The impreſſion theſe inſtances of humanity made on our minds is indelible. Once more did human nature appear to us amiable, and again we could acknowledge compaſſionate ſympathy and benevolence. How deteſtable is that man, who, to gratify his ambitious paſſions, or to indulge his fanciful theories, would endeavour to diſturb the peace of his fellow-ſubjects, to inflame their minds againſt each other, and eventually, as I have ſhewn, extinguiſh the beſt propenſities of our nature!

On Monday, July 2, we ſet off for London, and found every where on the road people anxiouſly inquiring for news from Ireland. Short as was the account I was able to give at the places where we occaſionally ſtopped, it was ſufficient to excite aſtoniſhment and horror. I was truly happy to have theſe proofs that my countrymen were not tainted with the vile principles which have nearly ruined our ſiſter kingdom.

The ſubſequent Rebel Oath and Affidavits, I copy from Sir R. Muſgrave.

" *The following horrid oath has been taken by all the rebels, printed copies of which were found upon numbers that were ſlain, particularly at the battle of New Roſs, and Ballicanew, and is now called " the bloody oath.*"

I A. B. do ſolemnly ſwear by our Lord Jeſus " Chriſt, who ſuffered for us on the croſs, and by " the

" the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, that I will burn, de-
" ſtroy, and murder all hereticks, up to my knees
" in blood. So help me God."

" *County of the City of Dublin, to wit.* } THE information of William Fleming, of Taghmon, in the county of Wexford, yeoman, who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, maketh oath, and ſaith, that he, this informant, was a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, was taken priſoner by the Rebels in Killburn, near Taghmon aforeſaid, on Thurſday, the thirty-firſt day of May laſt, by a man of the name of Brien, who was a Captain of ſaid rebels; and that ſaid Brien aſked informant, whether he would be baptized? on which informant replied, that he was baptized before, and that he did not think a ſecond baptiſm neceſſary. Informant ſaith, that ſaid Brien aſked him, whether he knew that this was a religious war? To which informant replied, he did not; on which ſaid Brien told informant, that no perſon would be ſuffered to live but he that was a true Roman Catholick. Informant ſaith, that ſaid Brien, thereon, cocked his gun, preſented it at informant's breaſt, and declared he would ſhoot informant, as he did another orange raſcal at the camp at Taghmon aforeſaid; but that another of ſaid rebels told ſaid Brien, that he had no right or authority to ſhoot him, unleſs it was done at the camp. Informant ſaith, he was then conducted to the ſaid camp, in the midſt of a great crowd of rebels, who cried out aloud, Which is the orange raſcal that is to be ſhot? Informant ſaith, that his life was ſaved that evening, by the interference, as informant verily believes, of Mr. William Devereux, a Roman catholick gentleman of Taghmon aforeſaid, who

was

was a captain of ſaid rebels. Informant ſaith, that the guards who were placed over him that night, having a knowledge of, and a regard for informant, gave him his liberty, on which he repaired to a furze-brake, where informant lay concealed for two days and two nights. Informant ſaith, he was adviſed by a friend to return to the ſaid town of Taghmon, as the rebel camp had marched to Carrickbyrne, and which informant did on the ſecond day of June, to the beſt of his recollection. Informant ſaith, that ſome days after, on or about the third day of June, he was ordered to repair to the camp of Carrickbyrne, in ſaid county, which informant did from motives of fear. Informant ſaith, he was compelled to march with ſaid rebels, on the fourth of June, to a camp at Corbet-hill, within a mile of New Roſs, in ſaid county, where the rebel officers fixed their head-quarters, at the houſe of one Murphy. Informant ſaith, that when he was returning thence, after the battle of Roſs, he, this informant, was taken priſoner by a body of rebels, at the bridge of Ballynabola, in ſaid county. Informant ſaith, that one of the ſaid rebels told him, that he had juſt put an end to an orange raſcal, of the name of Byron; and informant ſaith, that he ſaw, lying in a ditch at Ballynabola aforeſaid, John Byron, a proteſtant inhabitant of the pariſh of Taghmon aforeſaid, with whom informant was well acquainted; and that ſaid Byron was grievouſly wounded, and covered with blood, and on the point of expiring. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebels called informant an orange raſcal, and threatened to ſerve him as they did Byron; and informant ſaith, he is convinced in his mind, that ſaid rebels would have put him to death, but that he produced a paſs which he had obtained from

Brien

Brien Murphy, a prieſt of Taghmon, and that ſaid paſs ſaved the life of informant. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebels had a cuſtom of warning the inhabitants of each townland to attend their army, under pain of death, in caſe of diſobedience; and that informant was compelled by ſuch warning to attend a rebel camp at Slievekielter, ſome time in the beginning of June, where the ſaid rebels were on the point of trying him for being an orange man, but that informant was relieved by the kind interference of Mr. John Devereux, of Taghmon. Informant ſaith, that father Roche, a prieſt, who was commander in chief of ſaid camp, preached a ſermon, or exhortation, to the rebels therein, of the following tenor: That they were fighting for their religion, their liberty, and the rights of their anceſtors, and that they muſt perſevere. That they ſhould examine their ranks, and if they found any orange-men, or any diſaffected men among them, to extirpate them, as they could not proſper or thrive while they had ſuch among them. Informant ſaith, he was again taken priſoner by a body of the ſaid rebels, at Kilburn mountain aforeſaid, on the nineteenth of June, and compelled to repair to the Three-rock camp, near Wexford, where many thouſands of the rebels were aſſembled and arrayed for the purpoſe of marching next day to fight the king's troops, at Foulkes's mill in ſaid county; and that the ſaid camp was commanded by generals Bagenal Harvey, and father Roche, a prieſt. That the ſaid rebels, in ſaid camp, marched on the twentieth of June to Foulkes's mill aforeſaid, where they fought, and were defeated by his majeſty's forces. That the ſaid rebels returned on the night of the twentieth of June to the ſaid cap, at Three-rock hill aforeſaid, and that the

next

next day, on the approach of the king's troops, the ſaid rebels fled in different directions, ſome towards Wexford, and others towards the barony of Forth, in ſaid county. Informant ſaith, that a barn at Scullabogue, in ſaid county, having a great number of proteſtants in it, was conſumed on the fifth day of June; and that informant went to ſaid barn on the ſeventh day of ſaid month, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, who periſhed therein, for the purpoſe of interring it: but informant ſaith, he could not diſtinguiſh one body from another, from the injuries the ſaid bodies ſuſtained from the fire. That ſome of ſaid bodies were entirely conſumed; that the heads and limbs of others were conſumed, but the bodies remained entire, but very much diſcoloured. That the features of ſuch perſons as were not conſumed were ſo black and diſcoloured, that he could not diſtinguiſh one from the other. That the bowels of ſome of the ſaid bodies lay expoſed on the floor. That ſome of the ſaid bodies lay againſt the wall, as if in the act of praying. That a heap of the ſaid bodies lay near the door of ſaid barn, to which they flocked, as informant verily believes, for the ſake of freſh air, to prevent ſuffocation. Informant ſaith, that he found a guard of rebels at ſaid barn, and that one of the ſaid rebels told informant, and ſome others who were with informant, and ſeemingly with much joy and pleaſure, that he, the ſaid rebel, had been aſſiſting in burning ſaid barn, and in ſhooting a number of Proteſtant priſoners, who were buried in the gripe of a ditch, which ſaid rebel ſhewed, with much ſeeming ſatisfaction, to informant, and thoſe who accompanied him. Informant ſaith, that ſaid rebel informed him, that one hundred and ninety-nine perſons were conſumed in

in ſaid barn, or ſhot at Scullabogue aforeſaid; and that ſaid rebel turned to one of his comrades, and ſaid, the number wanted one of two hundred; and that ſaid rebel told informant, that a man with a pike had been at ſaid barn, turning up and examining the bodies therein for money and watches, which informant verily believes to be true, as the ſaid bodies ſhewed evident marks of having been ſtirred, and as the bowels of ſome of the ſaid bodies lay expoſed on the ground.

WILLIAM FLEMING."

"*Sworn before me, this 20th day of Sept.* 1798,
WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURNE."

"*County of Wexford, to wit.* } MICHAEL ASKINS, having been duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, depoſeth and ſaith, That on the fifth of June he was forced to join a party of rebels, and proceed towards Roſs; that when the party got within three miles of Roſs, they met a man riding very faſt, who ſeemed by his dreſs to be a prieſt. That this man cried out, We are defeated, Bagenal Harvey has ruined us; I will go to Scullabogue, and deſtroy every ſoul in it. That immediately this man threw down a fire-lock he had, and gallopped off towards Scullabogue. Deponent ſaith, he never ſaw the man before; but that the party he was with ſaid, he was the ſtouteſt prieſt in Ireland, father Murphy of Taghmon. That ſoon after, Deponent and the party retreated to Scullabogue, where they ſaw thirty-nine bodies dead before the door, and the barn burned, and the roof fallen in. Deponent heard that one hundred and fifty perſons were deſtroyed in the barn, among which were twenty-eight women and fifteen children; and deponent ſays,

ſays, he heard the ſame from numbers who were there, and he verily believed the numbers were rather more.

Sworn before me, this 18th day of Jan. 1799. his
JOHN H. LYSTER. MICHAEL ⋈ ASKINS,
mark."

" COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

" *Affidavits ſworn before the Reverend John Kennedy, and the Reverend Robert Hawkſhaw, by the deſire, and in the preſence of General Fawcett.*

" DAVID NEVILLE ſwore an information, the ſecond day of July, before the ſaid John Kennedy, and in preſence of General Fawcett, that John Cody, Michael Devereux, of Battleſtown, John Devereux, of Dungulph, and David Walſh, of Ballygo in the county of Wexford, were buſy in promoting the rebellion; and ſaid that the object of the rebellion was to murder ſuch proteſtants as would not turn to maſs.

" James Murphy, a papiſt, depoſed, on the ſecond day of June, that the object of the rebellion was to murder all the proteſtants, and to have the kingdom to themſelves.

" John Fitzgerald, of Black-hill, depoſed the ſame, the third of July, 1798.

" Charles Reily depoſed, That he ſaw fathers Byrne and Shallow, at the camp at Carrickbyrne, active and buſy in promoting the rebellion. Dated fifth of July, 1798.

" Joſeph Kelly, a proteſtant, depoſed, the fifth of July, 1798, that he was baptized by Bernard Downes, a prieſt, along with many more; as he heard and believes, that every proteſtant was to be put to death. He alſo depoſed, that knocks of furze were ſet on fire by the rebels, in expectation of finding proteſtants hid in them.

" Andrew

" Andrew Shepherd, and Patrick Dungannon, of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who were taken priſoners at the mountain of Forth, on the thirtieth of May, depoſed, that the rebel Generals, Roche, Fitzgerald, and Murphy, informed them, that John Colclough, Eſquire, of Tintern, in the county of Wexford, was at the head of ſix hundred rebels, at Tintern aforeſaid, ready to cut off the retreat of the thirteenth regiment of foot, and that fathers Dixon, Cavanage, Murphy, and ſeveral other prieſts were very buſy and active at the rebel camp at Gorey, promoting and forwarding the rebellion. The ſaid Dixon endeavoured to perſuade the rebels to march to Dublin, for the purpoſe of taking it, and that they would be joined by twenty thouſand rebels in the county of Wicklow."

" SCULLABOGUE.

Redmond Mitchell's Trial.

" On the trial of Redmond Mitchell, alias Miſcelly, held at Wexford, the eighteenth of June, 1799, it appeared, that he was active among the rebels at Scullabogue, in murdering the loyaliſts, being armed with a firelock, with the butt-end of which he was knocking and battering ſuch of the priſoners as were expiring at the front of the dwelling-houſe. He had a pair of new boots on, which were much beſpattered with blood, which, and a watch, he obtained from Mr. Loftus Frizzel, a priſoner in the dwelling-houſe, who, and Richard Granby, were the only priſoners that eſcaped. He was ſo much admired by the rebels, for his ſanguinary and ferocious diſpoſition, that they called him the true-born Roman.

" He

" He gave Mr. Frizzle his ſhoes, on getting his boots. Mr. Frizzle gave Mitchell his watch and boots, in hopes that he would ſave his life, which he did, and conveyed him to the Rebel Camp at Carrickbyrne.

" That nunbers were trying to ſet the barn on fire, which was difficult, as the walls were high; that a number of rebels, in front, were piking and firing on the priſoners, who drew in the door to protect themſelves; that they put a bundle of lighted ſtraw in at the door, which ſet fire to the barn, which fire they kept up till the priſoners were deſtroyed, but many were ſhot dead before.

" SCULLABOGUE.

" On the trial of Matthew Furlong, at Wexford, in September, 1799, Robert Mills ſwore, that he was at Scullabogue, and was ordered to ſtand guard on the loyaliſts who were in the barn. That all the orders to burn the barn were reſiſted, till three men arrived and ſaid, that a certain prieſt had given orders that the priſoners ſhould be put to death; on which the rebels all ſet about the murders, and it was impoſſible to ſay who was moſt active. Orders were given to put any man to death who ſhould quit his poſt at the barn. A man ordered the witneſs to guard the door, and not let any of the loyaliſts out. The roof was on fire, and the loyaliſts were trying to force open the door to effect their eſcape, but were prevented by the rebels, of whom the priſoner was one; and he made ſeveral ſtabs of his pike at thoſe who endeavoured to get out, particularly a woman, and on ſtriking her he bent his pike. He afterwards went to the forge of Scullabogue, and ſtraightened his pike there. Patrick Kerrivan

Kerrivan ſwore, that the priſoner, in aſſiſting the rebels to burn the barn, lifted up the thatch with his pike, that others might put faggots under it, and that he called for more ſtraw. That he ſaw him ſtrike with a ſpear a man, who was endeavouring to make his eſcape.

" On the trial of Michael Murphy, at Wexford, on September fourteenth, 1799, it appeared, that he was riſing the thatch of the barn for the admiſſion of fire, and that he was followed by perſons with lighted buſhes, who were putting them into the apertures which he had made. That he and Matthew Furlong, who were guards at the door, ſpeared a man who was endeavouring to make his eſcape. That the priſoner put his pike under the thatch to make it blaze. That he and Furlong went afterwards to the forge, which was near, to ſharpen his pike; and on being aſked whether they were all dead, the priſoner replied, " I'll engage they are all ſettled."

" September twenty-ſeventh, 1799, on the trial of Matthew Revel, it appeared, that one gang of aſſaſſins, coming from Tintern, with a drove of proteſtants, met another at ſome diſtance from Scullabogue, with Mr. Milward Giffard and John Morgan in their cuſtody; and that the two parties joined, went to Scullabogue together, and committed the priſoners to the barn.

" On the trial of Patrick Furlong, at Wexford, on the twelfth of September, 1799, for being concerned in the maſſacre at Scullabogue, it was proved, that the meſſenger who conveyed orders to Captain Murphy, to put the priſoners to death, ſaid they were ſent by father Murphy, which correſponds with the affidavit of Michael Aſkins, Appendix xx. 9."

I have

I have now only to add, that I truſt the hiſtory of theſe atrocities (for the truth of every word of which I appeal to all thoſe who were impriſoned with me, who were not maſſacred, and to all the ſurviving inhabitants of Wexford) will induce all my fellow ſubjects to a good and gracious King to be ſatisfied with that ſituation in life in which Divine Providence has been pleaſed to place them, and to conſider as their worſt enemies thoſe who endeavour to make them diſcontented; reſting aſſured, that their own induſtry and honeſt endeavours will more ſpeedily and ſafely better their conditions than any of the doctrines which they teach; to hold faſt to the glorious Conſtitution of our anceſtors, which gives the beſt poſſible ſecurity for life, liberty, and property; and to abhor ALL INNOVATION, as opening a door to confuſion, plunder, cruelty, and death.

CHARLES JACKSON.

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